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1919

FOR DEGREE OF BACHELOR OF DIVINITY

THE CHRISTIAN MOVEMENT TO THE TIME OF THE DEATH OF STEPHEN
Edwin Perceval Baker

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Rev. Basil William Miller, B.A., M.A., B.D.

THE CHRISTIAN MOVEMENT TO THE TIME OF THE DEATH OF STEPHEN

By

Edwin Perceval Baker

THESIS:

Submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree of Bachelor of Divinity, Pacific School of Religion, May twenty-second, Nineteen hundred and nineteen.

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THE CHRISTIAN MOVEMENT TO THE TIME OF THE DEATH OF STEPHEN

A clear knowledge of the earliest stages of Christian institutions is of vital importance to students of the Christian religion as a historic movement. This,however,is difficult to obtain because the beginnings are half hidden in obscurity,since there is extant no contemporary literature bearing on the subject. All of our direct sources are of much later dates and betray unmistakable evidences of interpreting the former period in the light of the authors' own times. They carry subsequent development back into the beginnings,and the result is that the beginnings are almost lost sight of.

The church,for example,at the time the gospels were written had reached a fair state of development. Its organization and life were quite definite. The aim of the Evangelists was to justify its present condition by finding authority for it at the very beginning by means of explanation and reinterpretation. An investigation of the sources will show this to be true.

The Gospel of Matthew is designed to set forth the apostolate and to justify it by appealing to Jesus himself. The author or an interpolator is so determined to do this that he even breaks the

sequence of thought (Mat.16[18]) in order to make a statement concerning it. The sending of the twelve,which perhaps is historic,is repeated by Mt.at the close of the gospel with a different setting, for the purpose of applying it to the church. The intent is not to state a historical fact,but to justify a practical purpose. The Gospel according to Mark has the same characteristics; it carries back later beliefs. This is especially true of the two appended endings which are mainly practical. The evidence in Luke's Gospel is even clearer,for he shows in his second treatise that his chief concern is the Christian propaganda in the form of the church. In consequence,he closes his gospel with the command that the Twelve remain in Jerusalem until they be 'clothed with power from on high'.[1] The original conclusion of the Fourth Gospel is practically the same as the others.[2]

This uniformity of the endings of the gospel narratives,together with the lateness of their composition suggest very strongly that their purpose is to justify present aims,and that evangelists unconsciously reconstructed the primitive conditions in their anxiety to find references to them in the words of Jesus.

The book of Acts,likewise,betrays the tendency of the gospels. But just as there are indications of earlier conditions in them, so there are evidences in Acts. There is,no doubt,a considerable deposit of legend,but in certain parts of the book[3] the primitive marks are quite clear. In those sections the author works over

1. Lk.24[49] 2. Jno.20[21-23] 3. Acts 1-12

material that has come down to him and enough of it is retained to suggest the character of the original.

The Epistles of Paul,though not claiming to deal primarily with the most primitive conditions of the Christian religion,yet abound in allusions to them. He lays strong emphasis on what he received from the first Apostles,and uses that as the background for his work. The authenticity of the Epistles of James and Peter is now widely discredited and that of the Johannine literature is open to serious doubt. They,at best,throw little,if any,light upon earlier times.

These are the chief sources upon which a kinwledge of the first few years of Christianity must depend. The problem is to remove the later accretions and to reduce the tradition to its primal elements.

The roots of Christianity strike deep into Judaism,for from thence it draws its principal ideas. The Jews regarded themserves as the people chosen of God,and hence,as constituting a holy community. The Septuagint uses the word ecclesia in reference to that community,and as such it is equivalent to the Hebrew Tahal. In this sense it is used freely in Ezra,Nehemiah,and Chronicles. The ordinary Greek use of the word is here modified to denote the congregation of Israel,not merely as a community,but as a holy community. The bond that constituted the union with God, however,was a matter of dispute between the school of the legalists and that of the prophets.

It was this conflict that gave rise to Christianity,for

Christianity in the main was a revival of the prophetic element in Judaism.

The re-awakening was accomplished by John the Baptist,who took up the work of the ancient prophets of Israel. Like them,he preached righteousness and justice,and he insisted upon repentance, for he conceived the kingdom of heaven to be on the verge of coming. As the seal of repentance he baptized for the remission of sins. Here he adopted to a new use an ancient Jewish rite or custom,for lustrations of various kinds were not new to Judaism. When proselytes were received into the religion of the Jews,they were baptized and the Essenes,a Jewish sect,attached great importance to the rite. He appropriated it probably because of its symbolic value,for it was assumed from very early times by the prophetic school that the righteous would inherit the kingdom,but that they must first be cleansed from their sin. It is not unlikely that Jno.regarded it as the fountain mentioned in Zech 13^1.

John's call to repentance was heeded by many of his fellow-countrymen,who,like himself,were weary of the foreign yoke,and confidently expected the speedy coming of the long-hoped-for kingdom of heaven,when Israel would inherit the earth. Among those who went out to be baptized by him was a young man by the name of Jesus,from Nazareth,who was perhaps a disciple of John before his baptism,and who afterwards carried the message of John ($Mt.3^2,4^{17}$) into the northern part of the country.

The method pursued by Jesus in spreading the news of the nearness

of the kingdom was quite similar to that of John. He attracted a following from among the poorer classes of the Jews,and certain of them quit their occupations so that they might devote their entire time to assisting him. Jesus himself,unlike John,did not baptize, but his disciples did. Baptism was to him of secondary importance, for his primary aim was to sound his call to repentance far and wide that the people might be prepared for the kingdom which was so hear.

He was so successful in his preaching that it was not long before he eclipsed John,and when John was executed many of his disciples attached themselves to Jesus,who had then acquired some renown because of his power of healing by suggestion. A large measure of his success was due to the fact that,like himself,those to whom he preached were imbued with the hopes and aspirations of Judaism. Whenever the opportunity presented itself,-in the synagogue or market-place,on the hillside or the sea-shore,-he fanned into a flame the spark of hope which was in the heart of the Jews as a national inheritance.

Jesus carried on his work wholly within the bounds of his own country,and since he and his followers were orthodox Jews,and therefore conformed to the law,the movement was within Judaism also. His relation to the law,however,was that of a prophet. It was not his intention to found a new religion,for he judged his work in the light of Jewish kdeals and he regarded it for the whole of himanity only in so far as humanity would be included within the Jewish empire. In this he was at one with the other teachers of his nation. The

difference was not in content,but in method. Jesus emphasized the ethical side of righteousness rather than the formal or legal side. He claimed his type of righteousness to be superior to that of the Scribes and Pharisees. He promulgated not a new system of teachings but a more excellent way,for he accepted those teachings as final and true.

The apocalyptic ideas that were characteristic of Judaism constituted the basis of Jesus' message. These he took over directly from John the Baptist. So deeply grounded in them were his teachings that apart from them his message would have been unintelligible to his followers. The very center of his thought was that the kingdom was nigh. As proof of its nearness he interpreted his unusual power over certain diseases in the light of the Jewish teaching concerning the spirit,viz,that it expresses itself in the realm of the supernatural,and that its unhampered operation is reserved for the kingdom. Its present expression through him indicated that the kingdom was so near that its effects were already being manifested.

As to the nature of the kingdom,he shared with his countrymen the Jewish conception that it was future,supernatural,free from inward development,and that its coming was to be independent of any kind of human effort. Boussett makes the significant statement that 'there was no need for Jesus to enter into detailed explanation of what he meant by the kingdom of God,for every child in the country could have told him.[1]

But it was inevitable that his conception of its characteris-

1. Boussett,W.: JESUS,p.71

tics,which were chiefly ethical,should be elevated above the popular plane by his exalted idea of righteousness,and by his thought of the relation that exists between God and his people.

It was this phase of the kingdom that interested Jesus most,because his prophetic soul hungered and thirsted after righteousness. God would then reigh supreme,and the rule of unrighteousness would be ended. The extent to which he rises above the petty national grievances of his people is remarkable. He reaches the sublime height of laying hold upon the kingdom and claiming it for the pure in heart. By doing so he unlocked its doors and opened them to the world. It is evident,however,that he did not surrender his belief that the pure in heart among the Jews were to have first place. Nor is there any indication that his exalted conception of the characteristics of the kingdom modified his idea of its nature. The righteous do not win the kingdom,nor do they hasten its coming,-they are simply in condition to receive it when it comes.

It was Jesus' conception of the characteristics of the kingdom that supplied the motive for his work. The apocalyptic side alone would have furnished no real incentive,but when it is connected with the ethical phase,the purpose of his work becomes apparent,-namely, to establish a community that would possess the kingdom when it comes. For that reason,he urged the people to live according to the laws of the kingdom,thereby anticipating the kingdom itself. But because of the inability of the people to comprehend him,he eventually narrowed his first broad hopes of a large community down to a group composed of his immediate personal followers. He undertook to train

these in the laws of the kingdom,and to instruct them concerning its conditions,by acquainting them with the higher righteousness and accustoming them with the new relation to God. This explains his anxiety to impart to them the spirit of brotherhood. His aim was to make them the channel through which the kingdom was to come,and as such to constitute them,potentially,members of the kingdom already. Whereas its advent had not yet occurred,Jesus regarded its power as being manifested among them.

That he intended them to be the representatives of the kingdom is suggested by the number of those whom he chose. As there were twelve patriarchs,so there were twelve disciples,for the new community of God was to be fashioned after the pattern of the ancient community of Israel. As its representatives,their chief duty was to foreshadow its conditions; themselves to be in the present what they were to be in the future. They were to exemplify in their relations to each other the kind of brotherhood that was to prevail in the kingdom,which was to be equality,love,and service. Their function was not that of missionaries,but of representatives.

Jesus' idea of the size of the future kingdom was not at all commensurate with its present small proportions,for them it was to include men from the East and West,from the North and from the South. He thought of its coming as being marked by a universal judgment of all men. Each man was to be judged on a purely moral basis,and he was to be accepted or rejected according to his moral worth,for that is the treasure that must be safely guarded.[1]

1. Mk.8[36]

The way that he had invested it was to determine his destiny.[1] He did not think of the kingdom as being anywhere else but on the earth. There seems to be no way of ascertaining whether or not Jesus contemplated a propaganda immediately preceding the judgment after the coming of the kingdom,but such is probable. He may have believed that following a general proclamation of his principles at that time men would recognize their truth,and accept them. It is not improbable,considering the supernatural element in his idea of the kingdom,that he may have conceived of a transformation wrought by supernatural means. But whatever the means were to be, there is no convincing evidence that he expected it to be through the workings of any organization. His concept of the nature of the kingdom precludes any such idea; the change was not to be gradual but abrupt,and that very soon.[2] There is no indication that Jesus ever used the word church; he had no place in his thought for such an institution,since he regarded such things as outside the kingdom. In fact,the word is not contained in the gospels at all,except in two passages in Mt. (16^{19},18^{18}),both of which bear clear evidences of being unauthentic,and of being very late additions to the book. All thoughts of the kingdom in the Jewish mind included their idea of the Messiah,for the kingdom was to be established by him. He was to be God's representative,and,as such,the one who would execute judgment when the kingdom should come. Being a Jew,Jesus participated in that idea,and eventually he identified himself with the Messiah. The development of his messianic consciousness is trac-

1. $Mt.25^{1-4}$

2. $Mt.11^{1}$,16^{27},24^{34f},$Mk.9^{1}$,13^{30},$Lk.9^{27}$,21^{32}

able in the gospels. Its immediate sources were his intense desire for the coming of the 'promised one',and his conception of spirit,which he associated with the unusual power which he possessed. Practical considerations altered,in his mind,the prevailing conception of the Messiah. According to the earliest view,a descendent of David would ascend the throne at Jerusalem and constitute the world into a vast Jewish empire. Later,the idea arose that the Messiah,as the representative in heaven of the Jewish nation,would descend to earth and establish the kingdom on the basis of righteousness. This latter idea was accepted by Jesus,but since he was aware of the difficulties that lay ahead of him,he modified it by adding the Isaiamic teaching concerning the suffering servant of Jehovah.[1] The suffering servant,as such,however,was not the Messiah, for he was only in the preliminary stage leading to the office itself. That stage,though necessary and essential,did not of itself constitute the Messiah. In other words,the suffering servant was the Messiah potentially. By his death the servant would enter upon the final state,and be constituted the Messiah. It is clear that Jesus regarded himself as the suffering servant,and that he believed his death would be the transition to the larger phase of his messianic work. He then would soon return[2] in power and glory to perform the duties of his office.[3]

In spite of Jesus' efforts to make his meaning clear to his disciples,they later confessed that they did not understand him.[4]

1. Mk.8^{31},9^{12}
2. Mt.16^{28},24^{34f},26^{64},Mk 9^{1},13^{30},14^{62},Lk 9^{27},21^{32}
3. Mt.16^{27},24^{30},25^{31},26^{64}
4. Mk 8^{30-32},9^{9f},9^{30-32},10^{32-34},Mt 16^{20f},17^{9},$22f$,20^{17-19},Lk 9^{21},56 9^{43-45} ,18^{31-34}

They were so much concerned with the material phase of the kingdom, in its bearing upon the Davidic conception of the Messiah, that they did not rid themselves of the most primitive conception of it. Whereas they identified Jesus with the Messiah, yet the political aspect, that of a mighty monarch, was uppermost in their minds. Even Peter showed that he had utterly failed to grasp Jesus' meaning.[1] They persisted in thinking of him as the one who would establish the supremacy of Israel, and free their nation forever from foreign dominion. Thus they believed, notwithstanding Jesus' attitude against revolution. Hence, their notion of the Mewsiah, as related to Jesus, appears to have been somewhat at variance with the idea that Jesus himself held.

The relation of the disciples to Jesus does not suggest, even remotely, the idea of worship. Their failure to understand him, and their material comceptions of his work alone would be barriers to such an attitude on their part. Instead, their relation to him was characterized by personal allegiance. Beside, the attraction they felt toward him, their idea of the kingdom, and their political aspirations most probably constituted its basis. Not only so, but Jesus himself fostered the spirit of comradeship between him and them and directed their worship toward God. That the kingdom held a larger place than Jesus himself in their thought, appears to have been in complete accord with the desire of Jesus. Their natural tendency was to regard him as one among themselves, and whenever they

1. Matt. 16[22]

made any distinction,it was because of the position he would hold in the future as their king. Jesus,on the other hand,appears to have looked upon them as members of his cabinet,as it were,and as such they were to occupy the same relative position to him in the future as they held in the present.

From the time that Jesus began to limit the scope of his activity and,in that sense,to restrict the number of those who were to represent the kingdom,to the time of his death,there is a noticable change in the trend of his thinking. He is more specific in his teaching concerning the kingdom,and his ideas of the Messiah become more definite. His missionary activity takes less of his time,because he gradually changes his method from that of general preaching to particular training. He tends toward concentration. The line of demarkation between his inner and outer circle of disciples grows more and more prominent,and the distinction between the latter group and people in general becomes less and less marked. Whereas righteousness is demanded of all,he no longer intends to constitute the latter group as representatives of the kingdom. While they should be in condition to welcome its coming, they are not regarded as holding positions of responsibility in it. Yet,nevertheless,the attitude of all his followers toward each other,regardless of position,was to be characterized by brotherhood.

A change in his attitude toward baptism is also noticable. It appears that while at no time did Jesus require his followers to

be baptized,[1] the rite is not even mentioned in the latter part of his ministry. His word of forgiveness seems largely to have taken the place of baptism. It is not at all certain that the Twelve were baptized,but,as Professor Scott suggests,it is more than probable that several of them had been baptized by John before they threw in their lot with Jesus.[2] In that case,none of them were baptized in the name of Jesus,but according to John's formula. In the latter part of his ministry it is highly probable that many of his followers were not baptized at all.

During that period of his ministry he seems to have been more urgent in his demands for righteousness and more pronounced in denouncing unrighteousness,especially among those in authority,because of their abuse of positions of responsibility. This brought down upon him their enmity,which was destined to overpower him.

Such was the condition of affairs when he went to Jerusalem to attend the feast of the Passover. It is not improbable that he knew the danger he was in,and,hence,that the time of his death was near. But that is not certain,because the events in Gethsemane suggest that it was not a foregone conclusion with him. But,in any case,he recognized its probability,and it was with these thoughts surging through his brain that he broke bread with the Twelve.

Accounts in the gospels and in the epistles of Paul are of such a nature as to establish the substantial historicity of the so-called Last Supper. It was only natural that the Passover setting of the

2. Scott,E.F.: "The Beginnings of the Church",p.164

1. Mt. 8^{21f}; Lk.9^{59-62}

occasion should suggest to Jesus its symbolism,and,considering his identification of himself with the suffering servant,it would not be strange if he likened himself to the Passover lamb.[1] In Luke's gospel the time of the supper appears to have been modified to make the analogy complete in more points than was originally intended by Jesus. As the Passover meal was a pledge,to those who partook of it,of their place in the theocracy of Israel,so the meal over which Jesus then presided was the symbolic earnest of their position in the kingdom. It is very probable that that symbolic service occurred at the close of the regular meal,and was directly suggested by the conversation that went on during that time. Its form must have been very brief and simple. The accounts show that Jesus dispensed bread and wine to the Twelve and that he likened the bread to his body,and the wine to his blood. Then followed the prediction that the kin dom was so near that he would not.have occasion to drink of the cup again before they would be reunited in the kingdom. Paul's expression,"Ye proclaim the Lord's death till he come"[2] includes the same thought. The covenant idea was a later addition. In its last analysis,the Lord's supper was a symbolic service of the simplest kind possible. The arrest and execution of Jesus followed close upon the meal. After he was arrested the disciples became panic-stricken and deserted him. His trial was brief,and within a few hours he was hurried off to his crucifixion on Calvary. The immediate cause of his death was the animosity of the priests.

1. Lk.22^{7f} 2. I Cor.II^{26}

Jesus assailed their unrighteousness and attacked their source of revenue. They accomplished their purpose by stirring up a mob, probably composed mostly of fanatical Jews who had come to Jerusalem to celebrate the Passover and who were acquainted neither with Jesus himself nor with his message. The priests exploited the ignorance of the Jews and attained their end. The disciples later came to regard the action of the priests as prompted by their own ignorance;since they themselves did not understand Jesus,so,too, the priests misunderstood him. At all events,confusion seems to be the characteristic mark of that phase of Christian history.

It is certain,however,that the disciples deserted Jesus and that their plans were,for the time being,shattered by the shock. After the catastrophe it appears that since they were unorganized they could take no concerted measures for the preservation of the group. They became fugitives; their lives,too,appeared to them to be in danger;they were panic-stricken,so each sought safety in hiding. It is clear from their actions at that time that they had no expectation of ever seeing Jesus again. In spite of the pains he had taken to prepare them for such an event,they were unprepared and the result was that they were completely demoralized.

The disciples probably did not leave Jerusalem immediately,but remained in hiding there until after the death of Jesus. Professor Mc Giffert suggests that it is not improbable that they expected Jesus to appear at once as the glorious Messiah who would triumph

over his enemies.[1] His failure to do so added bewilderment to their fear. It appeared to them that Jesus had been entirely wrong in his predictions, and that their expectations had come to naught. Even their fear seemed to be groundless, because the authorities took little notice of his followers since they were so few.

There is good evidence that the disciples returned dismayed and discouraged, immediately after the crucifixion, to Galilee, the home of most of them. In Mark, for instance, it is there that their reunion occurs,[2] and there are indications[3] that the lost ending of that gospel dealt with that subject. It is ~~also~~ suggested in the last chapter of Matthew's gospel[4], and the appendix(ch.21) to the Fourth Gospel likewise points to Galilee. And though Paul does not specify the place where they were when the reunion occurred, his references indicate Galilee. (I Cor.15[5,11]; also I Cor.15[6]).

When Jesus did not re-appear as the disciples expected him, their faith for the time being was shattered; defeat was too evident for them to deny it. Though they had to surrender their political aspirations, yet they still remembered their personal associations with Jesus, and they could not forget him, nor ignore the sorrow

1. MCGIFFERT, A.C.: Apostolic Age. In footnote on p.37 he says: "It was quite possible for his disciples to interpret his prediction of resurrection as a promise of his immediate entrance after death upon his Messianic career."

Compare Hos.6[2], Mk 15[29], Lk.13[32], Jno.2[19], and see Weirs, Biblical Theo, Vol 1, p.90 and Wendt, The Teaching Jesus, Vol.2, p.269.

2. Mk.14[28]

3. Mk.16[7] 4. Mt.28[10,15ff]

they felt over the great tragedy; neither could they overlook the recurrences of their former hopes. Events were too real to allow those hopes to be entertained in their former aspects; they demanded reconstruction or rejection. The ancient apocalyptic hope which was the disciples' Jewish inheritance wrought the transfiguration; the desire for an earthly leader was superseded by a hope for a deliverer sent from heaven. They remembered indistinctly that Jesus had said something about his coming on the clouds. Case sums up the situation by saying,"Out of the 'Jesus of history' enthroned in their memory,they proceeded to construct the'Christ of faith' who became central in their hope."[1]

These constituted the basis of their resurrection faith. While they were earnestly hoping that he might yet appear,certain of their number had a strange experience; they firmly believed that Jesus,as a heavenly being,appeared to them. They interpreted the experience as proof that he had put an end to death,and they immediately identified him with the promised Messiah who would now speedily return to discharge the functions of his office. Their doubt now gave place to assurance and their disheartenment to confidence. By means of the experience they at last grasped the meaning of Jesus' teaching about the Messiah.

Just what was the form of the experience we do not know,but that something unusual happened seems quite certain. The best evidence is in the Epistles of Paul; his account is the earliest

1. Case,S.J., "The Evolution of Christianity,p.332

and least confused. He clearly states in I Cor.that Peter was the first to have the experience,and he draws no distinction between Peter's experience and his own; instead,he takes great pains to show that there was no difference between them. In all respects they were equal,and he regarded his own as a repetition of Peter's. We know that with Paul it was a vision,and when he says that his testimony was that of all the apostles[1],the natural inference is that the appearances to them was in visions also. In substance the experience amounted to the belief that Jesus was glorified,-that he was the Messiah,and that as such he would return. After the appearance to Peter,the other disciples had the same experience, and so did many of his other followers.[2] They accepted these visions as proof of the resurrection,and upon them they rested their faith in Jesus as the Messiah. There is no convincing evidence whatever that they expected the bodily resurrection of Jesus after three days. Paul is unacquainted with the story that is found in the gospels; he makes no mention of the empty tomb,the angels at the sepulchre,nor of the appearance to Many Magdalen.

There are good reasons for thinking the latter tradition,-that found in the gospels- was not the ground of the disciples' belief in the resurrection. Indeed,the accounts in the gospels are not uniform,but (quite to the contrary) there is considerable variation among them. In Mark's gospel,for example,in place of any manifestation there is an account of certain women finding,on the third day after the crucifixion,the tomb empty. They are told

1. I Cor.15[11] 2. I Cor.15[5ff]

by the angels at the sepulchre that Jesus will see the disciples in Galilee. There is,however,no account given of that meeting. The best manuscripts of Mark close with the account of the fright of the women and their silence. The narrative in the Gospel of Peter ends at about the same place as Mark. It is made clear,however,that the disciples knew nothing of what is said to have occurred at the sepulchre,and that they had returned,completely disorganized,to their homes in Galilee. In Matthew's gospel Mark's account is remodeled so that fear does not prevent the women from delivering the message entrusted to the disciples. That addition furnished the author an excellent transition for the summing up of the practical purpose writing in the form of the commission into all the world.[1] In Luke's gospel the angels are reported to have said:

> "Remember ye not how he said while he was yet in Galilee,that he must rise again?"
> Lk.24[6f]

According to Mark and Matthew the words of the angel were:

> "He goeth before you into Galilee, there shall ye see him."
> Mk.16[7]; Mt.28[7]

In Luke the manifestation occurs in Jerusalem,and not Galilee. He carefully avoids reference to the flight of the apostles from Jerusalem. While he suggests that the first appearance was to Peter[2],he omits its occasion. The allusion,to say the least,suggests the earlier apostolic faith. The Fourth Gospel closely follows Luke in setting forth Jerusalem as the place that Jesus was

1. Mt.28[16-20]

2. Lk.24[34]

manifested. In the appendix (ch.21) to the gospel,however,the original account reappears.

The gospel accounts,in spite of their contradictions,finally prevailed,because,as Bacon suggests,the later tradition(the appearance to the women)was more satisfying to the desire for the concrete and tangible,-that is,the actual disappearance of the body. The old story of the disciples desertion and flight,which was the earlier tradition,was most unacceptable to the church's growing pride in its great apostles. But nothing can be more certain than that the earlier form,and not the real later,was the basis of the resurrection faith.[1]

The immediate effect of their faith was the awakening of their hopes for his speedy return,and for the advent of the new era which he would usher in. His resurrection was to them the undeniable proof of his Messiahship,and the foundation of their hopes. They recalled that he predicted that he would rise from the dead,so the resurrection could be nothing less than proof to them that he was the Messiah. They now regarded him in the true light,for by his death he had attained to the Messiahship[2]. By that conviction they were prompted to return to Jerusalem,for they expected his return at any moment,and that was the city to which he would come. As soon as they were reunited there,they laid claim to their original relations to the kingdom. It was their belief in the Messiahship of Jesus,and the hope for his speedy return to

1.Bacon,B.W.: "The Founding of the Church",p.36ff
2. Acts 2^{36}; Rom.$1^{3,4}$

establish the kingdom that constituted the cause of their actions, and the ground of their thoughts.

In their enthusiasm they thought more about the Messiah than they did about God; they stressed the glory and the work of the Messiah; he held the central place in all their thinking. They quite overlooked the fact that Jesus had emphasized God instead; that he regarded the fatherhood of God as infinitely higher than the office which he himself was to fill; and that God was the center of his thought. In so far they departed from the teaching of Jesus,but in their ideas concerning the kingdom they were at one. In that respect they were the continuation of the movement started by John the Baptist,and expounded and supported by Jesus. The kingdom,however,derived its meaning,for them,from their conception of the Messiah. In consequence,again,they reversed Jesus' emphasis on the kingdom to emphasis on the Messiah. That furnished them the burden of their belief,namely,the Messiahship of Jesus,but only in his relation to the speedy advent of the kingdom. In other words, the gospel of Jesus was the nearness of the kingdom,theirs was that since Jesus is the Messiah,the kingdom is near. Because of that belief they hastened back to Jerusalem to meet the Messiah when he should come. They had no plans for the future,only the great hope. One of the very first things they did was to choose a successor to Judas,in order to restore the original number,which, perhaps,possessed for them more than a mere symbolic value. It was far from their intention to establish any sort of an organization; their idea was simply to continue in the fellowship that

existed between them during the lifetime of Jesus. Since they expected the Messiah to come at any moment there was no reason for them to organize; all there was for them to do was only to wait. The idea of a mission had not dawned on them; that was to happen later,partly through the failure of their hopes.

There appears to be no way of ascertaining the number of the followers of Jesus in Galilee who returned with the Eleven to Jerusalem. They,together with the Eleven,firmly believed that they were chosen to possess the new age. That very belief separated them from the Jews,and constituted them a group apart from the others,yet within Judaism itself. The only marks of distinction were their enthusiasm and brotherliness,not to say clanishness,- both of which were perfectly evident. In other words,they were a brotherhood animated by the same idea. That they were completely unsuspecting and naive,and that they never once doubted that their beliefs were true,was only natural when it is remembered that they came from among the lower classes,and that their ways of thinking were crude.

At the outset,the group contained,at most,hardly more than one hundred persons,who apparently realized that they had nothing to fear from the Jews,even though the men who had crucified Jesus were still in authority; they were loyal Jews,living peacably together, and accepting the Law as a matter of course. They had no intention whatever of severing their connections with Judaism; quite the contrary,they were careful to maintain the bond of union. What they

did insist upon,however,was that they themselves possessed the true knowledge about the kingdom; that Jesus had proved his claim to be the Messiah,and,as such,he would soon return to establish the supremacy of Israel,to put an end to foreign oppression,and to remove evil from the earth,where his kingdom was to be. The idea that the kingdom was to be in heaven had no part in their thinking; it was to be here on the earth. If they thought of heaven at all,it was as coming to them,rather than their going to it;the new Jerusalem was to descent from heaven to a purified earth within a very short while.

Since the consummation was so near,the members of the group felt no need for making further preparations for their physical wants. Many,doubtless,had accumulated no material possessions, while others were more fortunate. In the future they would have no use for such things,and as they regarded themselves as brethren, those who had gave freely to those who had nothing. That practice led them to look upon their possessions as common property among themselves. By that means they intended to maintain themselves until the end. The cooperation was not in earning,but in spending; there is no evidence that they sought to keep the treasury replenished through labor.

It was inevitable that the enthusiasm of the little company should attract some attention,and draw to themselves some of those who were of like mind,who,unbidden,attached themselves to the com-

munity and were welcomed into its fellowship. They,likewise,moved by the spirit of brotherhood,turned their possessions into the common stock. None were compelled to do so,but,through common impulse,it was the custom. The contribution was purely voluntary,and,since most of those who surrendered their possessions were poor,it was merely taken for granted. But when men of wealth,like Barnabas, for example,came in with them on equal terms,the occasion attracted attention,but it was simply because of the contrast. The basis of the practice was not charity but fellowship. Finally it came to be regarded that apart from the spirit of fellowship no one could claim to have part in the kingdom. It is probable that the sin of Ananias was that he sought to lay hold upon the kingdom by simulating that spirit of brotherliness which,in reality,he did not possess. The purpose of the story of his sudden death appears to be to emphasize the essentiality of brotherhood. The center,however,around which the practice grew was the constant expectation of the Parousia; since they were to participate in the higher order they cast in their present lot with the future.

Very soon after the followers of Jesus were settled in Jerusalem they sought some manifestation of the spirit which was to prove that they were "called" and was to guarantee to them their status in the kingdom. Without it they could not be sure of their position,for they would not be above physical law,which is the condition of their age,and,hence they would have no assurance that they had part in the age to come,whose chief characteristic was (they believed)

to be the free operation of the spirit. In no other way could they be certain of their standing.

Within a few days after their return,certain events occurred which,in themselves,were of no consequence,but were interpreted by the disciples as evidence of their possession of the spirit. That conviction confirmed their confidence and increased their enthusiasm, which was so contagious that it attracted many persons to them,who, of their own accord,identified themselves with the community. They likewise became possessed of the spirit,which seemed to give them powers which they had not previously possessed,and which were of an unusual nature. Those powers were proof of the genuineness of their spiritual possession. As enumerated by Paul,the gifts of the spirit included faith,miracles,healings,prophecy,helps,and administration. Since the spirit was to be the principle of the new era, the community claimed to be governed by it.

The usual characteristic of spirit possession was the 'speaking with tongues' which was thought to be the language of the angels.[1] It was that type of phenomenon that supplied the suggestion of the narrative of Pentecost. Luke evidently took an account of one of its early manifestations and made out of it an episode that is intended to complement that of Sinai; the giving of the new law is the counterpart of the giving of the old. Philo[2] says that according to a legend of the rabbis,the voice of God when he pronounced the Law on Mr.Sinai was understood simultaneously by the seventy

1. I Cor.13[1]
2. De Decal 9[11]

races of mankind,each of which was representative of a different language. At Pentecost it may be noted there was need for only one language,because all the nations recorded as being represented there were from among the Greek-speaking people; while each nation had its dialect,Greek was their common tongue.[1]

That manifestation of the spirit,the glossolalia,or speaking with tongues,eventually superseded the other forms as evidence of the spirit's presence,and it usually occurred when members of the community met together. Gradually miracles were disassociated with the spirit. It was by meeting together that the community became conscious of itself; so much os,in fact,that the idea of the possession of the spirit was transferred from the individual to the community. It was an individual possession only in so far as the individual was a member of the community.[2] In other words,the power of the kingdom was operative only through the chosen channel. The conferring of the spirit was not occasioned by one's joining the community; it was part and parcel of the conditions that prompted him to do so,but it became operative only when the conditions were fulfilled.

The community was not an organization in any strict sense; it was a brotherhood with no definite mission other than that of waiting for the kingdom. In consequence,there was no need for organization or form of government. The bond that held them together was purely internal,-self-integrated. The community,however, centered around the few personal followers of Jesus simply because of their former close relation to him. That the Twelve possessed

1. Scott,E.F.: The Beginnings of the Church,pp59,60
2. I Cor.12. Ibid(for full discussion) pp 76-81

the authority of governance in that present stage of the kingdom is militated against by the silence about Matthias. The spirit of equality and brotherhood permeated the entire group. They strove to maintain that position,which Jesus had insisted upon so strongly.

The daily lives of the members of the community were spent in waiting; they were at the temple most of their time,strong in the hope that this is the day appointed for the coming of the Messiah. While carefully ovserving the Jewish law,they held daily special services of their own which consisted of prayer,exhortation,and the breaking of bread in the homes of the members.[1]

The breaking of bread when the members met together in groups was the distinctive characteristic of the community. Its nature was the simplest possible; merely the repetition of the last supper of Jesus with the Twelve. But since it was a reminder of previous relations with him,and a foreshadowing of the time when they would sit with him at the messianic banquet,it possessed sacramental significance. It became such through their experience. The fact that it took place in private houses indicates that it was social also. The social phase was tangible evidence of their permanent brotherhood,while in its sacramental aspects it anticipated the universal brotherhood of the future. There is no reason to believe that the order of its observance was changed from that established by Jesus,- a family meal preceding the brief symbolic service of eating the bread and drinking the wine. The memorial

1. Acts 2^{46}

feature was not grief over the death of Jesus,but joy over his becoming the Messiah; for that reason they ate with gladness.[1]

As the community grew in numbers,it became necessary to add to Jesus' brief formula words of explanation,which finally were included in the formula itself. Matthew changes Mark's "they all drank of it" to "drink ye all of it",and added "for the remission of sins". Paul's words,"Do this in remembrance of me" was probably used at a very early time;likewise, "Ye proclaim the Lord's death till he come".[2] That the members of the community should have been careful to observe daily the ordinance was only natural,because it endorsed their claim to be the heirs of the coming age; it was in some way a mystical guarantee of their reunion with Jesus as the Messiah,and of their future possession of the kingdom.

Each day the ardor of the communicants attracted others who identified themselves with the community. As the number grew,and the coming of the Messiah was delayed,the 'missionary instinct' began,unconsciously,to function. At first it was gradual,but later it became definite and deliberate. In that respect the community followed the practice of the Jews in their efforts to proselytize. With that added impetus,the community grew rapidly. When recruits were sought among the Jews of the city,they actively gave rise to a confused idea that there was a mission to be performed. From that moment their theology began to crystalise,and the group became the church. It is evident that the missionary propaganda met with

1. Acts 2^{46} 2. I Cor.$11^{25,26}$

considerable success,but apparently it is impossible to ascertain the number of those who joined the community,because of the great diversity and uncertainty of the estimates given by Luke and Paul. According to them it was anywhere from about 2500 to 4500.[1] It is recorded that several priests became 'obedient to the faith'.

From the time the community entered upon its missionary career it began to develop in a different direction; just as it was no longer passive in its relation to the kingdom,but active,so it became positive. Membership in the kingdom,and the possession of the spirit was mediated through the community. The baptism of John was revived and employed as an initiatory rite. But there is no evidence that baptism was in use during the earliest period after the return to Jerusalem. The confusion and their enthusiasm over the expected immediate coming of the Messiah argues against the view that it was. The possession of the spirit by those who had previously identified themselves with the community was proof that their acceptance was genuine. It was,therefore,not necessary for them to be baptized when the need arose for a formal rite of admittance,due to the great influx of new members

The formula used by John was changed to include the name of Jesus. The idea was that baptism in his name was a formal acknowledgment by the convert of the Messiahship of Jesus,and of his consent to order his life in conformity with the customs of the group at large. The rite was associated with the idea of purifi-

1. Acts 1^{15}; 2^{4}; 4^{4}; I Cor.15^{6}

cation,as it was with John the Baptist; it was a symbolical cleansing. Since the thought was uppermost in the minds of the members that the community was composed of the redeemed,baptism acquired a mystical value,not only as a purification from sin[1] but as establishing in some way a bond of union with Jesus.

By means of the rite the group thought to maintain the requirements of Jesus,namely repentance and forgiveness of sins,as the prerequisites for membership in the kingdom. Jesus forgave sins merely by the declaration of their forgiveness,but since his followers had no such authority they resorted to baptism for the remission of sins. At no time,however,was the rite regarded as self-sufficient; the inward change was the more important,for without that baptism was valueless. While with Paul the rite was indispensible,he did not regard it as his work to baptise,but,rather,to bring about the inward change.[2] That conviction he shared with other apostles. They did not consider baptism as the medium for the conferring of the spirit; it came by being incorporated into the brotherhood,for the spirit was not of the individual but of the community. In so far as the baptism with water inducted persons into the brotherhood it may be said that it was also the baptism with the spirit. There are indications that even after the beginning of the missionary period the spirit was imparted prior to baptism.[3] The natural inference is that in certain instances persons became members of the group independent of baptism,and that in those cases

1. Acts 2^{38};3^{19}; I Cor.6^{11}; Rom 6^{4}.
2. I Cor.1^{17}
3. Acts 10^{44}; 11^{15}

their baptism not only completed the process but was a formal declaration of their membership.

The incorporation into the baptismal formula of the name of Jesus indicates the importance attached to him,but,as the confession of the converts shows,it was not to him personally but to his messiahship. That confession,of Jesus as the Messiah,involved more than mere acknowledgment of the truth of his claim,for it also signified the desire to be included among those whose lives were fashioned according to his pattern. The center of the faith was in that confession;- Jesus is Lord. That term "the Lord" means the same as "the Messiah". In the Old Testament,from which it was taken,it is a general name or title denoting exaltation. It is frequently applied to God,but its use is not limited to him exclusively. In its application to Jesus there is no indication whatever of his being identified with God; it was simply an easier and a more personal way of declaring him to be the Messiah; to say that he is Lord was to relate oneself to him,and to claim a part in the kingdom which he was to establish. When Paul says, "No man can call Jesus Lord but by the Holy Spirit"[1], he points out that the confession is itself proof that such a one is already a member of the community,and,therefore,the spirit has been bestowed upon him. That was the burden of the missionary message,- the lordship of Jesus- together with the nearness of the kingdom.[2] Those who heeded the message and complied with its conditions

1. I Cor.12[3]

2. Rom 10[9]; II Cor.4[5,6]; I Cor.12[3]

entered upon their career as potential members of the future kingdom.

In the course of time it was inevitable that the matter of conduct should force itself upon the attention of the community. The example and character of Jesus was the basis of its morality. In cases of doubt his sayings,which perhaps had been collected and been put in written form,were very probably referred to as the final standard. Since being true to that standard was one of the requirements for membership in the kingdom,the converts were put through a course of training. Much importance was attached to righteousness of life,because the members regarded themselves as anticipating the higher law which was to prevail in the future. Paul in his letters constantly insists upon proper conduct; by no means does he neglect the ethical phase of the kingdom. That insistance upon righteousness saved the movement from failure; if it had been purely apocalyptic it would soon have died. And if there had not been that bond the community would have fallen to pieces because of the external strife and conflict that went on during the first century. The followers of Jesus learned by purity of life the deep truths of his teaching. According to the Didaché the followers adhered steadfastly to the Apostles' teaching and in putting it into practice in their daily lives. That teaching consisted in the righteousness learned from Jesus.

Brotherhood was still the characteristic of the community. It continued to believe that it was directed and controlled by the spirit,which was its outstanding belief. As such it was separated

from the world,for the world was not related to Jesus and could know him only as its judge. But the brotherhood was his own,and in it he reigned supreme. When he would return as the Messiah it would be directly to it,and its members would then reigh with him in his kingdom,where brotherhood and righteousness of life were to be universal. Simplicity still marked its order. It had no set ministry,because the spirit was upon them all. Neither was there any final system of doctrines,for the spirit was its guide; nor any definite form of worship. The only bond that held together the separate groups which were necessary because of the increase in numbers,was that of fellowship; the one spirit was with all. It was in effect the continuation of the brotherhood established by Jesus. In matters of administration there was complete equality. Nothing of importance was decided except by the community at large. The method was thoroughly democratic. Decisions were reached by the casting of lots,as well as by discussion.

It was inevitable that there should have been leaders in the community; they,however,were not formally recognized as such. That they should have been the personal followers of Jesus was only natural,but if they exercised any authority(and there is no evidence that they did),it was simply because of sentimental sufferance. But even in their case all except two or three of them disappear from the records. So far as there were leaders at all they were the apostles. These,however,were not limited to the Twelve,because evidence shows that there were several besides them.[1]

1. Gal.1^{19},I Cor.9^{6}; II Cor.8^{23}; Rom.16^{7}; I Cor.12^{28}

They led only to the extent that their leadership did not conflict with the autonomy of the community.

From its very nature such a condition could not long endure. As the community grew in numbers difficulties increased,and it became evident that a more stable order of government was required if equality were to be maintained at all. The question of the fair distribution of goods demanded an answer in the form of an organization. Gradually the community became an institution,with officers and forms of administration. Peter became the leader, not by formal choice,but because of his strength of personality. John was next in prominence. With them was associated the company of apostles. Then came the seven supervisors of charity. All the indications are that the organization was exceedingly free and loose.

Concerning the position of Peter,Scott says,

> "A subsequent age could only explain his preeminence on the ground that Jesus himself had commissioned him to take the place of overseer of his church[1]. Of such a commission, however,the church knows nothing. It represents Peter as at first the leader among the apostles, and then as gradually declining in influence until he entirely disappears behind James on the one hand,and Paul on the other. Peter held authority not by formal appointment but in virtue of his personal gift,and he retained it only so long as the gift was indispensable. As the conditions

1. Mt.16[18,19]

changed,men of other gifts came
forward and directed the life
of the church." (148)

It is not certainly known whether or not the appointment of the seven is the origin of the diaconate. At all events,their duties and those later performed by the deacons in the Gentile churches were much alike.

The growth of missionary activity was matched by the growing self-regard of the community. Since the members themselves were Jews,and their mission was among their own people,they naturally thought of their brotherhood in terms of Jewish hopes and expectations. While they had always regarded the community as chosen to inherit the kingdom,they now came to identify it with the "remnant" which the prophets had predicted would receive the promises of God. They claimed that because of the nation's wickedness it was to be destroyed,and that it had forfeited its right to be called Israel. Not only did it think of itself as such,but also as the community of the new age. Its members are spoken of as the heirs of salvation,as the elect,and as saints. The powers and privileges, however,belonged to the community as a body,and were possessed by the individual only in virtue of his being members of the body. Paul at a much later time retains the same conception. When he refers to separate churches it is clear that he regards them not as separate churches as such,but as parts of the entire community; a unit of itself,yet inseparable from the greater unit of which it is a representative. Because of that conception of itself,the community

claimed to be the ecclesia. Here it laid hold upon the Old Testament designation of Israel as a holy community called of God. That title,the ecclesia,or church,the members claimed for the group,and thereafter continued to regard it as such,and so to speak of it. The result of that conception was that the church was drawn closer to Judaism,so that if a gentile desired to become a member of the church,he first had to become a proselyte to Judaism; the law was strongly emphasized as the characteristic of Judaism,hence they contended that every member of the church must conform to it.

The attitude of the church toward the Jewish Law,however,was that while it was to be formally observed it was of lesser importance than its own distinctive declaration of the lordship of Jesus. But even though it was regarded as of secondary importance its observance was not to be neglected,because by doing so the connection with Judaism would be severed,and the church then could no longer claim to be the true Israel,and,hence,would lose its right to claim to be the ecclesia or church. In fact,the thought of violating their ancient customs did not occur to the members; they simply took them for granted. But in spite of their regard for Judaism they did not look upon themselves as identical with the nation. Of itself the nation had no part in the promises of God; those promises were to the remnant,that is to the church. To that extent they were conscious of their separation from the nation. But in the main it conceived of itself as included in some way in the nation. While the law was ineffective apart from the confession of the lordship of Jesus,the confession was effective only as it

was supplemented by the Law,-each was inadequate of itself.

The growing missionary activity brought into clearer consciousness the points of difference between the church and the nation, with the result that the church became divided into two parties,one insisting upon their dependence upon Judaism,and the other upon their independence of it. The Jewish authorities distinguished between those two groups within the community itself,and while they sought to silence the one,the other was not molested. From the sparing of the apostles it is clear that the authorities were not actively opposed to the movement itself,notwithstanding the fact that it carried on a vigorous propaganda. So long as its members were faithful in their observance of the law they had no ground for serious objection. Otherwise,their special emphasis did not concern them. An investigation into their teaching resulted only in an admonition. Since Judaism,at best,was a ceremonial code rather than a system of teachings, beliefs were matters for individual choice. In fact,there were many sects within Judaism. Among them were the Pharisees,the Sadducees,and the Essenes,each of which held widely diverging beliefs,while at the same time they considered themselves to be true Jews. They,together with the members of the church,observed the law,and shared alike the same liberty. They were molested only to the extent that they assumed a critical attitude toward,or rebelled against the established form of worship. At no time,however,was the church a mere sect of Judaism,for it did not regard the law as primary.

When persecution did break out it was because of the revolutionary teaching of the radical party in the church. Stephen, being their leader,was brought to trial on the charge of blaspheming the temple.[1] Since his followers were mostly Hellenistic converts to Judaism,they did not give as much weight to the customs of the Jews as was needed to maintain peace. In seeking converts among the Hellenists in Jerusalem,they taught that the temple worship eas temporary,and that the church only was permanent,for

> "the Most High dwelleth not in temples made with hands."

They regarded the temple worship as having no significance in the higher relation that the church bore to God. While there is no evidence that they attacked the law,it is apparent that they did not conform to the customary usage in matters of worship. In his speech at his trial,Stephen contends for the validity of the claim of the church to be the true Israel. In order to establish his contention he reviews the history of the Jews,for the purpose of showing that God's promises were not to the nation,but to the remnant,-the true Israel,which could be entered only by accepting the lordship of Jesus. Since the nation,as such,had rejected him,it could have no part in the future kingdom. The boldness of his speech so enraged the Jews that they broke forth into a mob and, interrupting the orderly proceedings,they murdered Stephen in an outburst of passion. Hardly two years had elapsed since the death of Jesus,but in that time the unorganized group that had gathered around him had become the church,which had developed a crude theology.

1. Acts 6^{13}

and had set out on a definite mission. In that short while the church had split into two factions,the one conservative,and the other radical. The latter was destined,in spite of persecution,to triumph,for it had tlimpsed the bounds of the church as reaching beyond the borders of Israel. After the death of Stephen the church entered upon a new era,for by his martyrdom it was awakened to the consciousness of its mission as being world-wide. Stephen's death was followed by a persecution which drove his followers away from Jerusalem. Their exit from that city was the beginning of foreign missions; it planted the new religion beyond the borders of Palestine,for they carried with them their beliefs,and endeavored to establish branches of the church wherever they went. While the church at Jerusalem was their pattern,they modified it to meet the demands of larger conditions. At their hands its Jewish apocalyptic form eventually gave place to that of Hellenistic speculation,and from a centralized community at Jerusalem,they expanded it so as to include the whole world as its mission field. Being freed from its earlier conservative atmosphere the church readily adapted itself to new surroundings. While its form underwent a change,its message remained the same. When the Hellenists were driven from Palestine they went to Damascus,Antioch,and to other cities of the Gentiles. It was at Antioch,according to Luke,that the members of the church were first called Christians.

The death of Stephen not only caused the gospel to be carried to the gentiles,but it also led to the conversion of Saul,who was to develop the principles of Stephen,and to apply them according to their true nature. The task of unravelling the mass of tangled

threads and making the church realize that its existence was independent of the Jewish law was accomplished by him. Though not the first to carry the message to those outside of Palestine,he soon became the leader in that endeavor. Because of his former role as persecutor of the church,he could not close his eyes to the necessity of the church stating its message so clearly that a separation from official Judaism would be inevitable. He himself had the courage not only to state it but to insist on it. That was his great service to the new movement.

The foundation of Paul's work was the church at Jerusalem. Since Barnabas,one of its leaders,was his fellow-laborer,it is evident that he was acquainted with its aims and its work. According to his letters,he does not overlook the debt the Gentile churches owe it. His deep regard for it,however,did not stand in the way of his insisting upon a wider interpretation of the tradition,even if the church at Jerusalem did not agree with him. While he builded upon the primitive tradition he broadened the scope of the church so that it could enter into the important movements of the new age and world in which it had been planted. The tradition that he insisted upon as the original one and as of supreme importance was faith in Jesus as the Christ[1]. It was the acceptance of him as Lord that constituted membership in the true Israel. But,himself being a Jew,Paul would not surrender the belief in the prior claim of his own people[2]; they were in some way

1. Gal.$2^{15,16}$
2. Rom.$3^{1,2}$

to be foremost in the kingdom.[1] In that respect he retained a confused connection between the true Israel and the Jewish race. He rejected the nation,however,for "he contended",says Scott, "that apart from the nation there had always been an ideal Israel consisting of God's true servants,and to this hidden community the promises had been given. Thus the name of Israel was emptied of all its reference to the nation and retained only its spiritual content."[2] He further argues that the true Israel is more ancient than the nation because of the priority of Abraham over Moses, hence of faith over the law. He uses that argument to prove the supremacy of the church as a spiritual community over the nation, for through the principle of faith the church establishes its identity with the true Israel. On the basis of those beliefs Paul, at the council of Jerusalem,won his case against the observance of the law as a necessary requirement for entrance into the kingdom. While the conservative wing of the church was not willing to go all the way with him in practice,they agreed that the law was not binding on the Gentile converts,but that it was on the converts from among the Jews.

While Paul urgently insisted upon the nearness of the kingdom, and upon Jesus position in it as the Messiah,he changed the emphasis of the earlier apostle from his office to his person. For Paul, faith in Christ implied personal devotion;that being the basis of his own faith,he universalized it. But union with Christ could only be through one who was himself so united,as Paul expressed it, through the "foolishness of preaching". He did not attach any

1. Rom.9[11]
2. Scott,E.F. "The Beginnings of the Church".,p.41

great importance to Jesus' earthly life,because he considered him primarily in his external aspects,as the pre-existent divine wisdom,- the Logos.

The influence that Paul exerted upon the church is profound. Under his guidance the Gentile churches adapted themselves to the conditions of Gentile surroundings and were so organized as to maintain themselves until the end. While the churches which he directed continued to flourish,the church at Jerusalem steadily declined.

Persecution at the hands of the Jews did much to force the Jerusalem church to become increasingly conservative,and to contend for the necessity of observing the Jewish law. The outbreak which resulted in the death of Stephen was followed by a general persecution of the church,about the year 44 under Herod Agrippa. During that time the apostle James was beheaded and Peter was imprisoned. Afterwards he left the city,and it appears that he returned only for brief visits. Apparently he undertook foreign missionary work. It was perhaps because of the growing conservatism of the church that Peter,together with Barnabas,and later Mark and Silas,left Jerusalem. The leadership of the church there was then taken up by James,the brother of Jesus,who had attained prominence among its members.[1] Under his guidance the community became increasingly Jewish in its sympathies,and insisted that while the law was secondary,it was indispensable to salvation. But,because of its position

1. Acts 21[18]; Gal.1[19]

as the mother of the churches,it continued for some time to be pre-eminent,and the final court of appeal in matters of doctrine and worship. A vigorous propaganda was started among the Gentile churches by the Jewish sympathizers from Jerusalem. The individual Judaizers attempted to gain a following at Antioch,but failing to do so[1],they launched an attack upon Paul,but they were unable to dislodge him or to destroy his teaching. From then on,the Jewish branch of the church declined rapidly. It became rigid in its organization,and formal in its nature; the authority of its leaders superseded the free operation of the spirit; its work had to be justified by them[2]. The church at Jerusalem closed its doors to outside influences,and the result was that it failed rapidly because of senility. Its contribution to the world had been made in its early day,and when the Hellenists were expelled from Palestine,after the death of Stephen,it entered upon its period of decay. During the later period of its existence the church at Jerusalem suffered persecution from the Jews in spite of its sympathy for Jewish institutions.[3] James,its leader,was martyred,and when,in 70 A.D., the city was destroyed,the Christians fled to Pella,a Gentile town. There they tried to reestablish themselves,but the mother church had lost its power; Jewish christianity had failed.

Roper says:

> "It seems almost like irony when, about 150 A.D.,eighty years after

1. Acts 15^{1-35}; Gal 2^{1-10}
2. Acts 10^{47}; 15^{4-21}; 21^{25}
3. Roper,J.H.:"The Apostolic Age" pp.86,95

> the destruction of Jerusalem, Justin Martyr (Deal 47) actually apologizes for his own liberality in holding that some Christians who observe the institutions of Judaism can be saved. It marks the complete reduction of specific Jewish Christianity to the position of a half-tolerated sect."[1]

It developed into a group known as the Elxaites,a direct ancestor of Mohammedism. When the Jewish church had accomplished its work of securing a foolhold for Christianity,and had given the missionaries to the Gentiles their message,its task was done; then its power gradually declined,and it finally passed away.

1. Roper,J.H.: "The Apostolic Age",p.95

The Problem of Old Testament Instruction

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I

"Take all in a word; the Truth in God's breast
Lies trace for trace upon ours impressed;
Though He is so bright and we so dim,
We are made in His image to witness Him."

To many people the Bible is the Bible. Of one piece of cloth true from cover to cover; all the inspired Word of God, a book no part of which may be taken away, no part of which may be added to, else "God shall add unto him the plagues written in this book" (1) a book venerated for its age, for its completeness as a lamp and a guide to rectitude, for its worthy heroes and its saintly men, a book containing the "old time religion; good enough for my fathers; good enough for me!", a book to live by and a book to die by. To those who view it thus the Bible is a revelation of the past, interpretation of the present, a prediction of the future. It is the arsenal of texts against all unbelievers, the scourge upon the heathen, the blessing upon the "saved." Every question of doctrine or conduct can be justified by a passage, every false teaching proved to be of the evil one. The life of Jesus Christ can be found on every page of the Bible from Genesis to Revelation. Joshua and Samuel and Kings serve but to show the preparation for the coming of the Savior. "For us God saith it" (2) they declare, not merely applying to their own situation that which was said to them of old time, but claiming it as primarily and exclusively their own. "Thus saith the Lord,"-so says the Bible; therefore the Lord surely must have said it, else why should it have been in the Bible?

The Old Testament is the master of people who take this point of view. A verse or passage has pretty much the same significance to them where ever found and little, if any, thought is given to historical setting. The entire volumn- law, history, prophecy-they make into a Christian book. No narrative is so simple, no text tied to particular circumstances, no chapter so far removed from all Christian application, but that it can be made to show some Christian message. One cannot but admire the enthusiasm which leads people to find their truth in most unlikely places, to wring from some stubborn passage testimony to a manner of life.

The questions of Bible authorship or composition they do not wish to debate. Is it possible to reconcile or harmonize the story of creation as found in the first few chapters of Genesis with our

(1) Revelation 22:18. (2) I Corinthians 9:10.

distinctly modern view of evolution? Did Moses write the Pentateuch? Did David write the Psalms; or Solomon the Songs of Solomon? Is Jonah literal and accurate history? Is Daniel a prediction? These and kindred questions they neither care to face nor consider. It is easier to interpret from a passage as it stands than to ascertain the environment in which it was written or spoken. It is easier to force some present application than to face with candor the evidence of history, whether in rocks,in ruins or in texts.

It would seem to these people that if Moses, or Abraham or David, or any other of the prophets could make mistakes, then Christianity is a failure. If it could be proved that the sun did not stand still at the command of Joshua(3), that men did not actually rise up from the valley of bones at a word, then the Bible ceases to be inspired. Inspiration and infallibility must go hand in hand. The fate of the Bible; the fate of the Christian religion, hangs thereon.

To an ever increasing number of people the Bible is still the Bible; yet it is impossible longer to regard the thirty books from Genesis to Malachi as a uniform and an unvaryingly harmonious exemplification of God and a perfect code of standards. The Bible is the record of divine revelation, but at the same time has a historical background which by no means may be ignored or overlooked. The Old Testament is the report of the development of an earnest people from a very crude faith and a very rude sort of ethics to views of God and the universe which the world prizes as its most precious treasures. While it is a group of books,divinely inspired with the word of God, it is at one and the same time indissolubly linked with the progress of a certain people. God spoke through them but they, even as other people, did not always clearly hear the Voice. Again, within the scope of the books there are many phases of growth, many and various periods, all reflecting different historical conditions. They do not follow page after page with careful regard for continuity; some of the noblest conceptions are found in the first part of Genesis and many of the latest sections represent the creeds and institutions of petty and violent times. It is not correct to speak of either the Old Testament of the New Testament as uniform and comprehensive. It is incorrect to speak of them as being progressively revealed and perfect in all details, even the minutest. The Old Testament is not even a consistent collection of moral teachings(4), though there is to be found within it progress from the crude to the divine.

It is a mistaken view which regards the ciriticism of the older books

(3) Joshua 10:12 ff.

(4) IIKings 10:30 vs Hosea 1:4., and many similar instances.

of the Bible as an affair of antiquarians and pedants, without influence upon practical life. Quite the contrary is nearer the truth. The researches of modern students have had a deep and far reaching influence upon religious thought and conduct, "We are now in a position to set forth the constructive elements in the critical history of both Old and New Testaments in a manner that is calculated to diminish the still existing popular prejudice against that study, even if that prejudice cannot be wholly removed or overcome."(5)

Once our eyes are open to the diversity and unevenness of the perception of truth and right in the Old Testament, we have undermined any power the Old Testament may have for evil. Once we recognize the terrible old Hebrew divinity as "the terrible old Hebrew divinity" we have passed from an estimation of God at face value to a deeper understanding of man's longing to be in right relations with a power greater than himself. A divinity who could issue precise directions for the most revolting cruelties, the slaughter of whole nations of men,women and children, as well as helpless animals; not to mention cities; whose sole offense was that they did not pay tribute to Jehovah's priests; a divinity who could hand down ten commandments writ on stone and at the same time instruct the children of Israel to kill and rob their neighbors;

> "Howbeit of the cities of these peoples, that the Lord thy God giveth thee for an inheritance, thou shalt save alive nothing that breatheth, but thou shalt utterly destroy them; the Hittite, and the Amorite, the Caananite, and the Perizzite, the Hivite, and the Jebusite; as the Lord thy God hath commanded thee..." Deuteronomy 20:16ff. (see also Deuteronomy 7:1ff) (6)

he is not our God! Our moral consciences will not permit us to claim him! Upton Sinclair calls him the "butcher God" and rightly(7)for the records of this old Hebrew God are full of atrocities and terrors. He is not our God any more than he was the God of the Great Isaiah, or of Amos, or of Hosea. The God we moderns worship is a God of justice-the very soul of religion- of righteousness and of love. He is not "the old Hebrew God", neither is he a Jewish God, he is rather the universal Father of all mankind, interested in men as sons and as brothers.

(5) Morris Jastrow in "Constructive Elements in the Critical Study of the Old Testament." Journal of Biblical Litterature.,June,1917.
(6) See also II Kings 10:6ff. Rewards for observing this law: Deuteronomy 25:7f. Punishments for violation: Deuteronomy 28:15f. While much of this is only a paper slaughter as Judges 1:21ff shows, yet the stories stand plainly in our Bible texts.
(7) Upton Sinclair, in that exceedingly iconoclastic twentieth century book of his-"The Profits of Religion" page 35.(1918).

Criticism has blazed a trail of light in one direction, at least. Man's conception of God at any period in history is co-extensive with his moral sensitiveness and can be no greater than the summation of his highest ideals concerning the power with which he seeks to come into right relations. Such being the case it is fitting that we shall label that which is immoral as immoral, whether it has a "thus saith the Lord" attached or not. That which is good, honest and just we should embrace. The "hedging" occurs in calling black black and white white; for we so often see only two shades of grey. "Criticism bears no sword which can wreak the slightest injury upon any truth which is really true, nor diminish aught the force of any law or precept which finds the conscience of its own might."(8) Truth is truth for its own sake, and appeals to our consciences and intelligences as such. No "thus saith the Lord" can ever make an untruth into truth. This much we know.

(8) J.M.Thomas, "The Christian Faith and the Old Testament", page 45.

II

Bible teaching is no longer the simple matter which the current method of Sunday School instruction would assume it to be. While it is true that the Bible is the natural text book for the study of religion, one would never know it by investigating the method and material used in the Sunday School of today.

Exodus may be fine teaching material for young "Scrappy" boys, who dote on seeing things"stacked up" against the offender, and want the Pharaohs to "get everything that is coming to them," but for more mature minds it becomes a stumbling block. In the fourteenth chapter there is set forth the Crossing of the Red Sea. Most of us, in reading our Bibles, read the story throughverse by verse, and draw the conclusion after having read it, that God, by a mighty setting aside of natural phenomena, conducted the Children of Israel, dry-shod, through the Red Sea. But viewing the story critically it becomes apparent that we shall have to change our conclusion somewhat. Should we arrange the story according to the documents contained within it we will find that two stories, each quite different from the other, have been skillfully woven together:

JE

Ex.14:21b.-and Jehovah caused the sea to go back by a strong east wind all the night and made the sea dry land-
v.24. and it came to pass in the morning watch that Jehovah looked forth upon the host of the Egyptians through the pillar of fire and of cloud and discomfited the host of the Egyptians.And he took off their chariot wheels and they drove them heavily; so that the Egyptians said: Let us flee from the face of Israel; for Jehovah fighteth for them against the Egyptians.
v.27b. -and the sea returned to its strength when the morning appeared, and the Egyptians fled against it, and Jehovah overthrew the Egyptians in the midst of the sea.
v.30.Thus Jehovah saved Israel that day out of the hand of the Egyptians and Israel saw the Egyptians dead upon the sea shore.31.And Israel saw the great work which

P

Ex.14:21a.And Moses stretched out his hand over the sea-
21. and the waters were divided.22.And the children of Israel went into the midst of the sea upon the dry ground: and the waters were a wall unto them on their right hand, and on their left.23.And the Egyptians pursued and went in after them into the midst of the sea, all Pharaoh's horses, his chariots,and his horsemen.
v.26. And Jehovah said unto Moses,stretch out thy hand over the sea, that the waters may come again upon the Egyptians, upon their chariots,and upon their horsemen,
v.27.And Moses stretched forth his hand over the sea-
v.28. and the waters returned and covered the chariots, and the horsemen, even all the host of Pharaoh that went in after them into the sea; there remained not so much as one of them.
v.29.But the children of Israel walked upon dry land in the midst of the sea, and the waters were a wall unto them on their right hand,and on their left.

JE P

Jehovah did upon the Egyptians
and the people feared Jehovah,
and they believed in Jehovah,
and in his servant Moses.

It is apparent that in the older of the two stories, the Children of Israel took advantage of a low ebb tide and successfully crossed the Red Sea, just in time to escape the returning high tide. The Egyptians, on the other hand,were caught by the incoming tide and many of them lost their lives. "Thus Jehovah saved Israel that day out of the hand of the Egyptians."

For the Priestly writer this story was entirely too simple and too plain; he must therefore write another, making sure that it is the priest,Moses, who performs the miracle at the behest of Jehovah, and that all the Egyptians, their horses and their attendants, perish in the sea. A redactor, in later years, re-editing many of the stories and putting them together with other material to form the Book of Exodus, took the JE story and the P story, and wove them together to form what we now read in our Bibles. He had a priestly motive in gathering his material and so when we read the story of the Children of Israel crossing the Red Sea, unless we separate the documents, the priestly conception is the conception we most readily grasp. The story is naive and unhistorical in its priestly garb, but there it stands and as such is taught in most of our Sunday Schools and from not a few pulpits.

The Old Testament as it stands today is dominated by the priestly notions of the time of Israel's decay. It demands the keenest and most painstaking investigation to unearth the ideas of God and man, growing and developing, unfolding like the petals of a rare and beautiful flower, through out the whole of the history of Israel, from the priestly covering spread like a pall over all. It isn't easy to do, and it isn't commonly done. Yet it is precisely this priestly domination which forms the framework, which makes up the chronology, which thrusts its general scheme of history and of the origin and growth of Hebrew religion upon general acceptance and belief. The popular notion of the Old Testament is the priestly one. Amos and Isaiah, Hosea and Micah, and a host more of the great prophets would fire their vindictive epithets(9) at the priestly notion today even as they did in the days of their active work.(10) It is not too much to say that the priests have concealed from the eyes of those who would see, the true understanding of the greatness of the Jews and the correct interpretation of their history. The books of Kings and Judges are woefully disappointing when one seeks any knowledge of the real conditions which surrounded their growing religion.

(9) See particularly Jeremiah 7:22,31 and 8:8.
(10) "They have sold the righteous for silver and the needy for a pair of shoes" - perhaps the most potent and surely the severest indictment of the priesthood. Amos never compromised. He knew what wrong was and was not afraid to assail it, even though it meant to attack privilege and source of income.

Every generation is weighed in a priestly balance and measured according to its devotion to one particular priest craft, and its adherence to one particular sanctuary. Every King and almost every prophet is condemned if he does not uphold the hands of the priesthood and the priestly cast. Jeremiah is almost as incomprehensible. One can understand the book only as one can feel as did the Belgians when the Germans swept over them in their mad rush for Paris. The Babylonians were resistlessly marching toward Egypt and Palestine stood in the way. Jeremiah cannot be understood unless one knows how keenly the Babylonians were feared by the inhabitants of Palestine, and how they were willing to give their very lives that the Babylonians should not pass.

One must search with diligent and painstaking care Judges and Samuel and the books of the Pentateuch to find the beginnings and the early stages of the belief in God and the effort to do His will. The prophets, as well as the "historical" writers, have buried the development of the Hebrew religion in involved and difficult speeches. Only rarely does the prophet speak clearly, although when he finds opportunity to be heard he sounds his note of faith in no uncertain terms:

"For I desire goodness and not sacrifice: and the knowledge of God, not burnt offerings." Hosea 6:6. (750-735 B.C.)

"But let justice roll down as waters, and righteousness as a mighty stream." Amos 5:24. (750-735 B.C.)

"He hath showed thee, O man, what is good; and what doth Jehovah require of thee but to do justly and to love kindness, and to walk humbly with thy God?" Micah 6:8. (725-690 B.C.)

"But Jehovah of hosts is exalted through justice, and God, the Holy One, is sanctified (holy) through righteousness." Isaiah 5:16. (740-700 B.C.)

"Thus saith Jehovah: Keep ye justice, and do righteousness." Isaiah 56:1. (Second Isaiah.,c.500-460 B.C.)

"Thou has had regard for the gourd, for which thou hast not laboured neither madest to grow, which came up in the night, and perished in a night, and should not I have regard for Ninevah, that great city, wherein are more than sixscore thousand persons that cannot discern between their right hand and their left hand; also much cattle?" Jonah 4:10-11. (460-350 B.C.)

But in the time of Israel's decay when the priest had gained the ascendency the records were re-cast and re-edited by men of small capacity, filled with ritualistic zeal, and thus the whole was sicklied over with the veneer of priestly form and thought.

The Old Testament will ever remain the riddle of the universe until it is recognized as a growth in religion; a development through many and various stages of an aspiration toward God, and as a book wherewith one can live when one has rid oneself of the priestly domination and has come out into the clearer light of the prophets of the true and living God. The average Bible

student has never heard of the J document, the E document or the P document, much less the blended JE sources and the D texts. They are all so much Greek to him. But the earnest seeker for religious truth must be brought to the point where he may discern for himself that which is false from that which is true; that which is moral from that which is immoral; that which is editorial from that which is redaction; that which is secondary from that which is historically genuine. Such discernment is taught in our schools of religion, in a few Sunday Schools, a few pulpits and in numerous lecture courses but what is most needed is that the results of scholarship and the attainments of researchers during the past fifty years shall be made the common property of every man, woman and child who seeks to know God's truth. The church, the student's class, the individual, must teach the Old Testament as the critics teach it. The modern thinker can know truth in no other forms or terms than cause and effect, evolution and development. It is his scientific training; why not his religious training? If we believe Sabatier spoke the truth when he said," Man is incurably religious" why do we not conduct our teaching concerning the Old Testament as though we actually believed it?

III

Religious education, in the main, still pursues its way oblivious of the standards demanded by an enlightened twentieth century. The Old Testament is still taught a square inch here, a square inch there, with no general notion of historical continuity or development in religious ideas. One square inch, apparently is as important as another, the object being to prove a statement of fact or truth by finding a portion of the Old Testament which will affirm or corroborate it. In teaching that God does not desire child sacrifice the story of Abraham and Isaac is brought forward(11). The instruction goes very well until someone asks if the story does not demonstrate the theory,then new, of substitutionary sacrifice; the animal caught in the bush being offered in the stead of Isaac. The development of a newer and somewhat higher conception of sacrifice out of the primitive and barbarous child sacrifice holding sway for so many centuries finds no place in this lesson. There is not the slightest attempt to interpret folk lore as folk lore, nor to separate widely divergent texts wonderfully woven together by the redactor. It is simply: "given a doctrine, how can the Old Testament be made to prove it" - a method not uncommon in this day.

The New Testament is often read into the Old Testament. Moderns alone,are not guilty of this injustice. It has been a common practice since the death of Jesus Christ. The early Christians used the Old Testament as a distinctly Christian book. The entire work they took as being confirmation and explanation of what was then transpiring or only shortly to come to pass. Daniel, they placed on the same level with Revelation, seeing in it a prediction of the "full end." In Isaiah they found the "forth-telling" of the coming of Jesus. In many of the Psalms they found justification for institutions, customs, and creeds. "As Paul transformed the humane precept of Deuteronomy,"Thou shalt not muzzle the ox when he treadeth out the corn", into a prescription for the adequate payment of pastors in Christian Churches, denying that it had any other reference, so every law and institution was made to bear a Christian sense."(12) Because the New Testament quoted from the Old Testament in many instances, and more particularly since the Synoptists, chief among whom, in this procedure, was Matthew, used the Old Testament to justify and prove events in the Christian era, early Christians and moderns alike have judged that the same process might be followed with impunity. They find in the Old Testament whatever they wish to find and they who can find the most are most vociferously acclaimed.

Many cannot follow this method. Marcion was not the first nor the last to discard the Old Testament because he could not allegorize.(13) There are

(11) An illustration taken from the instruction in a class the writer attended.
(12) J.M.Thomas,"The Christian Faith and the Old Testament" page 27.

honest folk today who cannot, with good conscience, strain the Old Testament to such a point that it will bolster, in every particular, the New Testament. Daniel, they can interpret in no other way, in the light of all the evidence, than that it was written in the time of Antiochus Epiphenes and sets forth the events of that monarch's reign in the light of Jewish expectation. In it they can find at least two attempts to set the date of "the end" in 164 B.C. both of which were never fulfilled; but they cannot find a prediction of the end of the world in 1843, or 1844, or even in 1921, or 1931. In Isaiah they can see the "suffering servant" but they cannot find a prediction of the life and death of Jesus Christ. In short,they can follow the critical viewpoint; they can reconcile evolution and the word of God(14), and can make full and adequate use of the scientific method of interpretation of history, whether it be secular or religious.

In Germany before the Great War there was a movement, spreading with considerable rapidity, seeking to drop the Old Testament out of religious education. Christianity has nothing in common with Judaism. It does not of necessity find its foudations in Jewish history. Again, "there is an element of danger in obliging the youth of our day to hold ideal intercourse with men and women whose attitude toward life was totally different from ours, and who stood on a moral plane far beneath that of our time."(15) It is mischievous to mingle without discrimination material from the Old and New Testaments because it is liable to lead to a serious confusion of ethical and moral standards in the mind of the student. A severe indictment of Old Testament instruction is this. Yet one should bear in mind that a very considerable part of the Old Testament has ceased to exert any energizing influence in our thinking about God. The problem of whether Moses wrote the Pentateuch may be the foremost question among scholars and students of the Old Testament, but it is not this question nor any like it which governs and guides our modern thought. It is the prophet who makes possible the elevation of the law. It is the prophet who has a message for the world, not the law maker, the priest, or even the king or ruler. The world can never forget the great prophets; it is quite apt to pass by the lawyers.

Confusion of ethical and moral standards in never a resultant from the recognition of the developmental point of view. To take a passage in one part of the Old Testament and place it on the same plane of authority with any other part of the Old Testament will most surely cause ethical and moral confusion. The recognition that the Old Testament is a statement of what man at any one time was able to receive, not what God was willing to give, brings with it an

(13) J.M.Thomas.,page 31.
(14) Even Cardinal Newman to the contrary: "Scripture says that the sun moves and the earth is stationary and science that the earth moves and the sun is comparatively at rest. How can we determine which of these opposite statements is the very truth till we know what motion is?"
(15) Wm. C.Bade., also Flöring in "Das Alte Testament in evangelischen religionsunterricht"; and (anon) "Das Judenchristentum in der religiosen volkserziehung des deutschen protestantismus."

enthusiasm and elevation of spirit in all matters pertaining to morals which is not gained by holding any other point of view. In Exodus we read,"The first born of thy sons thou shalt give me," and "All that openeth the womb is mine;"(16) in II Kings, "And they caused their sons and their daughters to pass through the fire,"-meaning nothing less than child sacrifice.(17) In Jeremiah are to be found these words,"And they have built the high places of Topeth, which is in the valley of the son of Hinnom, to burn their sons and their daughters in the fire; which I commanded not, neither came it into my mind."(18) Here is a flat contradiction. To take Exodus as of equal validity with Jeremiah undoubtedly would cause moral and ethical confusion. But recognizing the passing of at least a hundred years between the "Thus saith the Lord" of Exodus and the"Thus saith the Lord"of Jeremiah, with the possibility of development in the Hebrew idea of God during this period, we can readily see that Jeremiah was upon a higher plane of moral insight than was the writer of Exodus. The same argument may be readily applied to the writer of II Kings. We can go a step farther, however. We can and ought to brand the "Thus saith the Lord of Exodus and II Kings, in this matter, as immoral, for such it is, measured by the standards of the prophets and of Jesus Christ.

The confusion of ethical and moral standards results not so much from the mingling of materials from the Old and the New Testaments as from our failure to recognize imperfect moral standards as imperfect.(19) The Old Testament has an intrinsic value of never failing spiritual uplift when we recognize that within the Old Testament are both immoral and moral standards, and choose, in the light of the teachings of Jesus Christ, the moral as being of permanent value, as over against the transitoriness of the more primitive and thus more rude standards of morality. "Think not that I came to destroy the Law and the Prophets," said Jesus,"I came not to destroy but to fulfil," and in filling full the Law and the Prophets with the worth of the truth of God He could say,"But I say unto you-" and put in the place of the imperfect standard of morality a higher and more worthy one.

Life is a process of expansion, an unfolding of new powers, a refreshing and invigorating development. Whoever cannot see the process in action in the Old Testament fails to comprehend the struggle of a worthy people to rise from the depths of ignorance and depravity to the heights of God's freedom. Whoever cannot see development in the Old Testament is stumbling along with conceptions of religious truth which it has been impossible for any intelligent person to hold for a quarter of a century. Whoever cannot abandon the old transcendentalism will not soon see light; for man was made to know God; it is fundamental to his very nature.

There is,however, an ever increasing group of people who see in the Old Testament "First the blade, then the ear, then the full grain in the ear;" who recognize in the thousand years history of the Children of Israel the development of an idea of God from that of a jealous God, wrathful and sure of vengeance, to a God of love, of justice and of rightness. Nature is a

(16) Exodus 22:29 and Exodus 34:19.
(17) II Kings 17:17.
(18) Jeremiah 7: 31. See also II Kings 23:10 and the explanation Ezekiel gives in 20:25, in which he attributes the basest of designing on the part of God.
(19) Wm.F.Bade:"The Old Testament in the Light of Today" page 5.

prodigal producer. She makes thousands of acorns to produce a single oak tree, and she takes a thousand years and hundreds and thousands of men to produce an idea- God as love, God as justice, God as rightness. But out of this idea has come a new morality, a morality which has nothing of fear or vindictiveness,of ignorance, supersition, or submission about it, which makes man not a slave to himself and to others, but master of his destiny. This new morality is a morality of freedom, since man has learned he cannot break God's laws, but may easily break himself in violating them. This new morality is a morality of joy, for joy is the test of rightness, This new morality is a morality of reason, for there is no authority above reason, else if there were reason would have to judge it and either accept it or reject it. This new morality, above all, is a morality of development, in that it is not a static thing, the same today, tomorrow, and forever. Its function is to continually adapt itself to a changing order of life and to continually and constantly adjust life to itself, in an ever changing order of environment, that the radical of today become not the dogmatic of tomorrow.

> "Man, therefore, thus conditioned, must expect
> He could not, what he knows now, know at first;
> What he considers that he knows today,
> Come but tomorrow, he will find misknown,
> Getting increase of knowledge, since he learns
> Because he lives, which is to be a man,
> Set to instruct himself by his past self;
> First, like the brute, obliged by his own mind
> Bent,habit,nature,knowledge turned to law."

So Robert Browning puts it.

IV

Every one knows, or at least should know, that there is a decidedly different attitude upon the part of God toward mankind set forth in the later writings of the Old Testament from that to be found in the writings of the earlier period of Hebrew religion. The change is not so much one of the part of God as it is one on the part of the men who sought to interpret him to their fellows. Nor was it one of catastrophic suddenness. It was a slow, gradual process, covering many years, and not until New Testament times did it in any full measure become complete.

The Hebrews during the cruder and more primitive stages of their national-God period had a definite idea of how Jehovah dealt with men. Jehovah was not interested in any particular individual man. Jehovah was, however, tremendously interested in His people,-"You only have I known of all the families of the earth,"(20)interested in them as a people,as a group, almost as a herd. The individual was not of value. It was the nation, the people, which counted. Whenever there were any rewards to be distributed, it was the whole people who benefitted, whenever there were any punishments to be meted out, it was the whole people who suffered. Group rewards and group punishments were part of Semitic custom. No one questioned the custom, it simply existed and was accepted and lived up to by those who sought to place themselves in right relations with Jehovah. Further, group rewards and group punishments were heritable. The son could receive from the father either a curse or a blessing, and the curse or blessing was a tribal and national, never an individual, affair. The iniquity of the fathers could be experienced even to the third and the fourth generations. The fathers lived, gathered together much goods, died and forgot all about how God dealt with His people, but the people never forgot. They bore the iniquities of the fathers.

As early as 650 B.C. there was a protest against this thorough going national idea of rewards and punishments. The writer of Deuteronomy assailed in no uncertain terms this age old and universally observed Semitic custom. "The fathers shall not be put to death for the children, neither shall the children be put to death for the fathers: every man shall be put to death for his own sin,"(21) was the way he thought and felt about it. He was the pioneer in championing the rights of the individual. He was the forerunner of many who could not wholly agree to the conception of God as a God who punishes or rewards the group for the sins or the good deeds of a part of the group. But the writer of Deuteronomy put forward his idea of individual responsibility too soon to be readily accepted. In the end, his abrogation of group rewards and group punishments was but a feeble protest, for the tide soon returned to the deep and the group suffered on.

It remained for Jeremiah and Ezekiel to sound the note of defiance and to proclaim individual responsibility in its fuller and more complete aspects. It was the cry of Jeremiah and Ezekiel, as it was of Deuteronomy, that the sins of the fathers need not necessarily be born by the children. "The son

(20) Amos 3:2
(21) Deuteronomy 24:16

shall not bear the iniquity of the father, neither shall the father bear the iniquity of the son."(22) The individual that sinned, he was to die.

Group Responsibility vs	Individual Responsibility
Ex.34:7(J-850 B.C.) I,Jehovah,..visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children and upon the children's children,upon the third and upon the fourth generation."	Deut.24:16.(621 B.C.)"The fathers shall not be put to death for the children;neither shall the children be put to death for the fathers; every man shall be put to death for his own sin."
Ex.20:5.(E-750 B.C.)"-for I,Jehovah, thy God, am a jealous God visiting the iniquities of the fathers upon the children, upon the third and upon the fourth generation of them that hate me-"	Ezek.18:20(570 B.C.)"The soul that sinneth, it shall die; the son shall not bear the iniquity of the father, neither shall the father bear the iniquity of the son."
Lamentations 5:7(586 B.C) "Our fathers sinned and are not And we have borne their iniquities."	
	Ezek.18:2"What mean ye that ye use this proverb in the land of Israel, saying,'The fathers have eaten sour grapes and the children's teeth are set on edge?" As I live,saith Jehovah, ye shall not have occasion any more to use this proverb in Israel. Behold,all souls are mine,as the soul of the father so also the soul of the son is mine. The soul that sinneth,it shall die. "
Ezek.9:5(592-570 B.C.)"Go ye through the city and smite: Let not your eye spare, neither have ye pity; slay utterly the old man, the young man and the virgin, and little children and women; but come not near any man upon whom is the mark; and begin at my sanctuary."	Jer.31:30.(626-586 B.C.)"In those days they shall no more say:The fathers have eaten sour grapes and the children's teeth are set on edge. But every one shall die for his own iniquity,every man that eateth the sour grapes,his teeth shall be set on edge."

In gathering together into contrasted columns the materials from the sources showing the change from the idea of Jehovah as a God who rewards or punishes the group,to the idea of Jehovah as a God who rewards or punishes the individual, it is apparent that individual responsibility did not come in without a protest. Witness the fact that Ezekiel could play the part of a Dr.Jeckyl and Mr. Hyde with ease. He could speak in uncompromising terms against group punishment, then turn about and cause Jehovah to order the wholesale slaying of innocent men,women and children because they did not bear the "mark".(23)

(22) Ezekiel 18:20
(23) See Ezekiel 9:5 above; also Ezekiel 18:2ff and 9:15ff.

No great reformatory idea ever comes to be commonly accepted when first propounded. It takes time for old customs and old traditions to change. And so we must recognize that when Ezekiel spoke so vehemently for the individual he had not come to the point where the thing he so ardently advocated could dominate his whole life of thought and action.

In punishing the group God had certain specific means at hand. It was a settled habit of the Semites to explain every calamity or natural phenomenon as due to Jehovah's direct displeasure. Obviously no Hebrew had as yet any knowledge of natural law, but tragic events and great catastrophes were occuring not infrequently and some explanation had to be offered. Hedged about with numerous ceremonial taboos it was but natural that they should have thought that some violation of ritual had called down upon them God's vengeance. Amos, speaking for Jehovah, gives a catalog of God's punishments, all with the ostensible purpose of causing the Israelites to return to Jehovah. "And I have given you cleanness of teeth in all your cities and want of bread in all your places, yet have ye not returned unto me, saith Jehovah. And I also have withholden the rain from you, when there were yet three months to the harvest, and I caused it to rain upon one city and caused it not to rain upon another city: one piece was rained upon and the piece whereon it rained not withered. So two or three cities wandered unto one city to drink water and were not satisfied...I have smitten you with blasting and mildew... I have sent among you the pestilence....your young men have I slain with the sword,....yet have ye not returned unto me, saith Jehovah." Isaiah and Jeremiah,too, are acquainted with the jealous guarding of his personal rights by Jehovah(24). But Ezekiel, in one clear cut passage, sums up the whole conception of Jehovah's punishments, "For thus saith the Lord Jehovah: How much more when I send my four sore judgements upon Jerusalem; the sword, and the famine, and the evil beasts, and the pestilence, to cut off from it man and beast."(25)

In this day we shall have to ask these writers certain questions as to whether God actually used his power only for moral ends. Does the punishment of good and bad alike become a God of justice and rightness? Do pestilences and famines, evil beasts and wars come upon mankind because of God's displeasure or because man fails to guard his body, his property, or his mind against the inroads of selfishness and disease? Does God give or withhold the rain according to the ritualistic zeal and devotion of his adherents? Does God cause it to rain upon one city and not upon another for moral or even for secular reasons? Does God divide people into groups according to his pleasure and use them, some to send to death, some to perish by the sword, some to slowly starve to death, others to go into captivity?

There is not an Old Testament writer who in any thorough way answers these questions. It remains for Jesus Christ in His Sermon on the Mount to put to

(24) Amos 4:6ff; Isaiah 5:6; Jeremiah 15:2; Jeremiah 42:22 and 14:18.
(25) Ezekiel 15:21; also Ezekiel 23:27-29.

rest the whole conception of God's vindictiveness. Famine,disease, sudden death, depredations by wild beasts, failures in war, earth-quakes,eclipses-these, as manifestations of God's wrath upon mankind, were all set aside by Jesus' words, "For He (God) maketh his sun to rise on the evil and the good, and sendeth rain on the just and the unjust."(26)

Religious education, so far as I have been able to observe, totally ignores this change in viewpoint in Old Testament instruction. Religious education knows the facts but never applies them. I have looked through a dozen Sunday School texts upon the Old Testament and I have yet to find one which makes any attempt to point out this radical change in God's method of dealing with mankind. The Lesson Helps are little better. All seem to have never known that at one time it was the group, the people, who were rewarded or punished by God, and that at a later and subsequent time God judged the individual as a separate entity and rewarded or punished him according to his deserts. They seem not to know that the teachings of Jesus cancel many of the Old Testament teachings, that many of them become immoral when judged in the higher and purer light of the life and teachings of Jesus Christ.

The story of the flood may serve for illustration. In Genesis 6:5-8(J) God repents that he ever made man;he has become so wicked. The only way He can correct what He has done is to destroy man and start all over again. "The end of all flesh is come before me; and behold I will destroy them from off the earth."(P) And God, according to the story, proceeds to carry our His intention, save that he spared Noah and his family out of all the people, and representatives from all life other than man,(27) causing it to rain forty days and forty nights. The flood rose, "and every living thing was destroyed that was upon the face of the ground, both man and cattle and creeping things and birds of the heavens," "and Noah only was left and they that were with him in the ark."(28)

Man as an individual finds no place in this story. Women and children are not even considered. It is the group which has sinned, therefore it is the group which must be punished. It never entered the mind of the writer that there might be innocent children and women, let alone a few men,among the people God had created, who might not readily fall into the classification "wicked." That was not a matter with which he was concerned. Some of the group had sinned, some had gone astray ritually, and so the whole group must be punished.

(26) Matthew 5:45.
(27) In Genesis 7:2ff(J) it would appear that seven of every living animal and bird were to be gathered into the ark, but Genesis 7:15(P) says that there went into the ark two and two of all flesh. It is evident that the Priestly writer made use of certain sections of the J document in the formation of his account of the flood and omitted others. The sections which he used he did not completely harmonize with his other material.
(28) Genesis 7:23(J)

In teaching the story of the flood why not be frank? Why not recognize moral values as moral values, immoral attributes as immoral? It was gracious of God to save Noah and all his family, to save some of the animals and birds, but how about the rest? How about the innocent men and all the women and children who were drowned by the rising waters? Perhaps it was only the attempt of a struggling people to interpret a great catastrophe in terms of their highest conception of the diety they worshipped. The details we do not know, but we do know that the history of rocks and animals and man do not confirm the story of the great flood as set forth in Genesis. We also know that whatever happened, the writers of the flood story interpreted a great natural phenomenon as being a judgement of God upon the group for the wickedness of a few individuals in the group. In the light of the teachings of Jesus Christ we cannot teach that God punishes in this manner or by this means. This does not mean that we shall have to discard the flood story. Far from it. The story has great value when placed in right relation with the individual responsibility of man for his own destiny; when Genesis is weighed in the balance with Ezekiel and with Matthew. Why not teach the story of the flood with all the evidence conderning the matter at hand? Why not abandon the old ready-made interpretation of the story as found in a dozen Old Testament Sunday School texts andteach it as it really is? Perhaps if we did there would be more people in attendance upon Bible classes.

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There is no book about which so much has been written, so much spoken, or so much taught as the Old Testament. Yet the average student, even the average college student, who is supposed to be at least half educated and open minded, is nonplussed when asked the simplest question concerning that venerable book. He has heard more of Shakespeare or Darwin or Tagore than he has of Moses or Isaiah or Amos. He is much like the young man who had just returned home from his freshman year at college. His aged father asked him what new things had he seen or heard at college. Whereupon, the young man said, "Oh, Father, I saw the most interesting book in the library the other day. It's called the 'Holy Beeble' and a fellow named Moses wrote it. It's a ripping good book, Father; you ought to read it some day!

It is a sad commentary that our young men and women should come up through life, even go through our universities and colleges, knowing little or nothing about the Bible. Many a young man and young woman has accepted the ideas of fifty years ago as preached in their "home church" and taught in their "home Sunday School", and later has been tortured with the most painful bewilderment when these ideas were placed side by side with modern scientific truths. Many a tragedy has been enacted when they threw overboard not only their faith, but the reasons they held for that faith. It is not sufficient to teach right beliefs; right beliefs must be founded in right facts. A reasonable basis of genuine knowledge must be substituted for the false, outworn, antiquated supports that have for so long endeavored to uphold faith. During the past generation there has been gathered together a vast body of well authenticated facts, gathered and verified by a host of Biblical scholars, which should become the common property of all people. But the disconcerting fact in the matter is, that, while all this knowledge exists, religious education goes its way, conscious that something is wrong, but just what, it does not know. What we need now is a serious effort to make full and adequate use of the world's knowledge of the Bible; and more particularly we need a "house cleaning" and a "revitalizing" of Old Testament instruction.

"In the sphere of religious education the thing most needed now is the will and the opportunity to assimilate our heritage of Biblical lore as recreated and reconstructed by the scholarship of our time. As matters now stand we are forced to witness the extraordinary anomaly of one view of the Old Testament being taught in the Seminaries, colleges and universities, and quite another being presented in the Sunday Schools and from the majority of pulpits."(29)

Information must be given, not mis-information.(30) Reasonable grounds for morality must be offered, not the authority of a Pope nor even the authority of a Book. Modern thought has taught us religion bases itself upon the facts

(29) Wm. F. Bade, "Old Testament Scholarship in Modern Bible Teaching."
(30) "Wenn ein Schüler nach der Geschichtlichkeit der Patriarchenzeit fragt, so haben wir vom wissenschaftlichen Standpunkt aus kein Recht, sie zu verneinen." Flöring, page 49.

of life as demonstrated by experience and reason; that religion is something other than religion when it appeals to anything other than our moral sense of justice and rightness. Validity does not depend upon authority but rather finds its recognition in the mind of man because it is true. Authenticity depends entirely upon the spiritual quality of the truth, not upon the mere fact that a command is found in the Bible. The sense of uniformity may be injured by this view, but it is more to be desired that we be right than that we be "orthodox" The simplest truth is more edifying and is more valuable than the most edifying error.

Teachers in religious education, particularly teachers of the Old Testament, must be trained in the modern point of view, must be appraisers of the writers of the books of the Bible. As teachers it is not sufficient that we should know something about the Old Testament and something about the New Testament, it is essential that we should know all things, for the literary writer may have his own way, a historical writer may write as did Gibbon, or Herodotus, or Josephus, or he may write in strictly"historical" fashion. And who shall tell us, if the teacher cannot, which is which? Who will fill the minds of people with fundamental things, if not the teacher? Who will aid men everywhere to think broadly,deeply, sincerely, reverently; from the higher levels of human experience to the lower and back again? Who will urge positive thinking? Who will insist that we see the truth in relation to every day life? Who,but the teacher? What a challenge it presents to all of us, and yet how rarely it is done!

At the outset two difficulties countenance the teacher of the Old Testament. Neither difficulty is insurmountable, though each must be reduced to a minimum or eliminated before religious education can become effective in any broad manner. One is a matter which concerns the individual; the other has to do with the group and is therefore the more keenly experienced.

, For the first difficulty it is a hard task to find a suitable or an adequate name. The best, perhaps, is that there is in the mind of the individual who reads and studies the Old Testament a very present and real difficulty of "atmosphere" Now an atmosphere is an ever present enveloping element, intangible but consciously felt and known. Just so is it in reading and studying the Old Testament. One has to forget, for the purpose of study, all the modern views of religion,of science,of art and philosophy, in which one has been studiously drilled for years. One has to forget that the earth is round and come to consciously feel that it is flat; if one sailed far enough in any direction one would soon drop off the edge, and that would be a catastrophe of no mean pretensions. One would have to think of the heavens as an inverted bowl set in a saucer, having windows through which rain could be poured as one would pour from a pitcher, having stars set at intervals in the blue of the convex side of the bowl, and being all together the support of a mighty body of water-the Great Deep. One would have to forget evolution and development, and all the discoveries of Galileo,Ferrer,Newton,Galton and Edison.

One would have to know that the Old Testament never rose to a true conception of immortality, for Daniel has only the first faint glimmer of a life after death. One would have to forget our more or less pragmatic view of life and its problems and catch the subtle "atmosphere" of the orientalisms of the Old Testament. For the time being, one would have to forget even that Jesus ever lived; forget all His teachings; forget all the noble words and deeds of His followers. To come into the "atmosphere" of the Old Testament one will have to dig down through a heavy deposit of crude tribal customs and low ethical standards, through priestly formalism and graft, through developments and cancellations of development, to find the true message of the books. A thorough going knowledge of Aramaic and Arabian customs, of the geography, natural resources and political ambitions of ancient Palestine, Egypt and that great hinterland of the Tigris-Euphrates valley; a keen insight into and appreciation of the literature of a non-historic,un-ethical age, is prerequisite to the discovery of all that the Old Testament is capable of revealing. And yet, the messages of the great prophets stand out, in their salient features, clear and unmistakeable. It is as if Isaiah and Amos, Hosea and Micah, and even Jonah were speaking to you and me today. Their messages touch a universal human chord and while oftentimes severe and uncompromising, point the way upward and onward. If it were not for the prophets the Old Testament would be dreary, indeed.

To become a Jew, living in Old Testament terms and times, thinking the thoughts of a race struggling upward toward God, is not an easy task, yet that is precisely what is required of us if we would know and understand the Old Testament.

The second difficulty is an exceedingly practical one. People do not read their Bibles; least of all the Old Testament; because they are not interested. They are not interested because they do not understand. It is a confession, but it is so widely true that it challenges our utmost attention.

The experience of a friend is to the point. When approached to devote fifteen minutes each day to the reading and studying of the Old Testament in common with nine hundred other men banded together in a "Quiet Fifteen Minutes Club", with alacrity he made the attempt. Two weeks later he reported that he had tried to read Joshua and Jonah, having selected these books more or less at random, and had failed because he could "make nothing out of them." It took a deal of work and much time to start him on the road to finding an interest in the Bible and liking for it. He, like myself before I was a sophomore in college, had always read the Bible because he had to, not because he found any interest in it or because he sincerely liked it.

The study of the Old Testament is interesting and profitable in direct proportion to what we put into it. The Old Testament is not difficult to understand; it is not abstract or philosophical, or filled with great scientific terms. If the student cannot understand it, it is not because what he

reads is beyond ordinary human comprehension but because he fails to comprehend what the writer is trying to say. It is not the remoteness of Old Testament life, nor the obscurity of its ideas which is so unintelligible. It is,rather, the inability of the ordinary man to follow the development of its thought and its conception of religion. He has not the necessary background to meet the Old Testament upon a common basis of understanding. That student must be shown that he can take some of the old stories of Abraham and the Patriarchs, of Moses and of Israel, and read in them something more than merely a personal story, see in them movements toward national solidarity and national continuity, trace inthem the wonderful conceptions of God and man and their mutual relations. He must be shown how a study of pre-Semitic and Semitic peoples(31) and other races that fused together to form the Jews of history will throw new light upon problems all too dark before. He must, in a word, be made to understand.

Here is precisely where religious education fails. From day to day, Sunday to Sunday, it proceeds oblivious of the developments of the last fifty years of research and investigation of the Bible. It is high time that religious education should make use of the assured results of biblical criticism. It is not a problem of "production" so much as it is a problem of "distribution" The results of the past half century simply await application. What is most desireable this year and this day is that some one or some group shall stand out boldly and make use of the whole range of life and thought revealed to us by the services of these pioneers in the study of the Bible(32). It is encouraging to note that there are already under way plans for elevating our educational practice to the plane of achievement of our educational science.

"The Committee on Education of the International Sunday School Association believes the time has come to recast the method of lesson-making, and the content of lessons,in harmony with the recognized principles of educational science. The purpose is to evaluate current practice in terms of recognized standards of curricula-making; to set out in bold relief certain fundamental principles which should control all curricula building, and to suggest much needed changes in the organization and methods of present lesson making bodies (33)"

The Religious Education Association presents an organized and exceedingly powerful attempt to stimulate, to inspire, and to assist in devising a system of religious education which shall be compatibile with our present day needs. It seeks to apply to the educational work of our modern day religion the accepted principles of pedagogy based upon the results of modern investigation and research. It recognizes that matter and method go hand in hand and that the former very largely determines the latter.

(31)A study of Wm.Robertson Smith's most excellent book "Semitic Religions" will supply the Semitic background for the study of the Old Testament.
(32)We need a new type of curriculum in the Church School, a curriculum that shall indicate not only the kind of instructional material, from the Bible and elsewhere, that is appropriate to each period of life; but also the expressional activities that are natural in each period and which may be utilized in the development of Christian character. J.R.E.,August,1914,page 353.

Today the student of the Old Testament wants guidance, not domination. He wants to get his idea of how God works in the lives of men everywhere in his own way with all the help which the whole history of biblical research, science and philosophy can render. He is neither satisfied nor content with any half way measure. He must have all the truth. He thinks, in this day, in terms of justice, right and the international mind. He interprets his religion in terms of every day life and is willing to try the truths of the great prophets and the teachings of Jesus Christ in his dealings with men. (34) But he demands that he be taught in regard to the Old Testament, not a "system" but the origin, the anthropology, the philosophy and the theology of the Old Testament, its application to the individual and to society, its relation to ethics, religious and secular education, its cultivation and nurture, its organization and its use in daily and Sunday worship, that it become not a stumbling block to the feet.

The problem of Old Testament instruction has thus been put squarely before religious education. The grain has been gathered into the elevators, a thorough milling process has been going on for a considerable time, now it is meet that the finished product shall be distributed. Distribute, we must, but it is exactly this part of the whole process which is the most difficult.

"Every day convinces me more and more of the need of a different mode of teaching than that usually adopted for imperfectly taught people...."Who teaches in ordinary parishes the Christian use of the Psalms? Who puts simply before peasant and stone cutter the Jew and his religion, and what he and it were intended to be, and the real error and sin and failure? The true nature of prophecy, the progressive teaching of the Bible, never in any age compromising the truth, but never ignoring the state, so often the unreceptive state, of those to whom the truth must therefore be presented partially, and in a manner adapted to rude and unspiritual natures? What an amount of preparatory teaching is needed. What a labour must be spent in struggling to bring forth things new and old, and present things simply before the indolent, unthinking, vacant mind!.... It is such downright hard work to teach well!(35)

(33) J.R.E.,August 1918.,page 290.
(34) Witness the movements toward industrial religion as seen in the widespread movement for truth-telling in advertising, for service in business affairs, and for cooperation in the place of competition.
(35) Life of J.C.Patterson.,vol.2.,page 374. 1869.

THE REJECTION OF SACRIFICE

BY THE

PRE-EXILIC PROPHETS

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Foreword

In a thorough, careful study of the Old Testament, certain facts begin to stand out, which are not observed in a more superficial study. One of these is the great contribution of the pre-exilic prophets to the religious life of Israel. Though living in a time when the nation seemed to be at its height in military and political glory, these prophets were ready to speak forth great vital truths. They saw beneath the outward glory, a canker eating at the heart of the nation.

We are not surprised to find that the prophets opposed injustice, oppression of the poor, bribery, immorality, drunkeness and other sins, common in their time and with which we are familiar to-day. But there was one institution, which many of us have long been taught was divinely established. This was the sacrificial cultus, which seemed to be of special religious significance. By careful observation, we discover that these prophets not only denounced the sacrificial offerings and feasts, but even declared that God had never asked for sacrifices or instituted such a system.

Surely, there must have been some reason for this rejection of sacrifice, which had come to play so important a part in the life of the nation. We shall therefore, in this study undertake to find out the underlying reasons for this rejection; just what the pre-exilic prophets said about sacrifices; and the essential elements of the religion proposed by the prophets, in place of the old sacrificial religion.

CHAPTER I

REASONS FOR THE REJECTION OF SACRIFICE.

The first four prophets, Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, and Micah were very nearly contemporaries, and all confronted the same moral and social conditions. In order to understand why these prophets were so severe in their condemnation of sacrifice, let us observe some of these conditions which they found prevailing among the people of Israel.

First, there had been a rapid increase in wealth. Through commerce, Israel had multiplied her points of contact with foreign nations, fromwhich she derived her wealth. Hosea represents the northern kingdom as saying, "Surely, I have become rich, I have found me wealth."[1] Isaiah says,"And their land is full of silver and gold, neither is there any end of their treasures, their land also is full of horses, neither is there any end of their chariots."[2]

Second, this wealth was unequally distributed. It brought no benefit to the nation as a whole. It was in the control of a few capitalists and the masses were impoverished to an extent unknown in earlier times. In spite of the great accumulation of wealth, poverty was increasing. The very conditions that were enriching the capitalists tended more and more to impoverish the farmers and laboring classes. Abundance of money from the spoils of war and from foreign trade had increased prices of everything,including all necessities. Wages did not increase in anything like the proportion of rise in prices. The laboring classes found it

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1 Hosea 12:8

2 Isaiah 2:7

increasingly difficult to buy food, even in prosperous times, and of course in times of famine, prices were exorbitant. In such times the peasants had to borrow to escape starvation and loans were secured by pledges on their lands. The interests were so heavy that the borrowers were seldom able to pay, and they had to keep borrowing until their security was all gone and then their farms and houses were seized. The prophets emphatically denounced this practice. Isaiah says, "Woe unto them that join house to house, that lay field to field, till there be no room, and ye be made to dwell alone in the midst of the land."[1] In Micah 2:1-3 the prophet describes how these big landowners planned out at night time how to close their mortgages and when morning came they carried out their plans and evicted the common people from their farms. "They covet fields, and seize them and houses and take them away: and they oppress a man and his heritage."

The people who had no land and were compelled to borrow gave pledges of personal property as tools and furniture and clothing. If they could not redeem these properties, they were taken away as Micah says, "Ye strip the robe from off the garment from them that pass by."[2] According to the ancient law this outer garment should have been returned at night for it was the only bed the poor possessed. And yet Amos writes that the money grabbers, with these clothes taken in pledge, even dared to go to the altars to sacrifice.[3] When the people had nothing left to pledge, they mortgaged their children and themselves,

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1 Isaiah 5:8

2 Micah 2:8

3 Amos 2:8

and if not redeemed, they were sold as slaves or as Amos 2:6 says the "righteous were sold for silver."

Third, the prophets found an abuse of wealth by the rich. The writings of the prophets are full of denunciations of the plutocrats of their day. Amos tells how they dwelt in palaces of ivory and hewn stone, that they reposed on silken cushions at their banquets, and ate of the calves fattened for them, and drank and sang idle songs.[1] Hosea 2:11 & 8:14 speaks of their mirth, their feasts, and their palaces. Isaiah 5:9,11,14; 22:18 tells of their great and fair houses, their glory, pomp, and goodly chariots. Their wives too were condemned and Amos 4:1 even calls them "fat cows of Bashan." Isaiah 32:9 says, "Rise up, ye women that are at ease, and hear my voice; ye careless daughters, give ear unto my speech."

Again, the prophets found a deterioration in the moral standards. Drunkeness had become habitual.[2] Divorce and sexual license were frightfully prevalent among the wealthy, as shown in Amos 2:7; Hosea 4:11,12,14; 5:3 and in 7:4 Hosea even goes so far as to say, "They are all adulterers." In chap. 4:2 he says "There is nought but swearing and breaking faith and killing and stealing and committing adultery." Even murder is so frequent that the stains of one murder touch those of the next, "blood toucheth blood." "How is the faithful city become an harlot," says Isaiah, " righteousness lodged in her, but now murderers."[3]

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1 Amos 3:12,15, 5:11; 6:4.

2 Amos 6:6 Hosea 7:4 Isaiah 5:22

3 Isaiah 1:21

There was also a prevalence of materialism. Religious faith was declining. In the eighth century B.C. skepticism was general in regard to the presence and power of the god of Israel. Amos 4:6 ff complains that the nation has forsaken God and will not return. Hosea 4:1 reads, "there is no truth, nor goodness, nor knowledge of God in the land." Hosea 8:14 declares that "Israel has forgotten his Maker," Isaiah 5:12 reads, "They regard not the work of Jahveh." Isaiah 5:19 represents the people as saying mockingly, "Let him make speed, let him hasten his work, that we may see it, and let the counsel of the Holy One of Israel draw nigh and come that we may know it." By this they meant that they wouldn't believe the day of Jahveh was coming until they saw it. Even the success of the temple service and of the priests ministry depended on the money they could obtain. It is little wonder then that the prophets could not endure the stress that was laid on materialism.

Finally the prophets found that the rich were oppressing the poor, that the capitalists used their wealth to exploit the poor. The collectors, who farmed out taxes and the royal officials, enriched themselves by taxing the poor heavily. Amos declares they "trample upon the poor and take exactions of him of wheat."[1] In Isaiah 3:14-15 the prophet rebukes the elders and princes and says "It is ye that have eaten up the vineyard; the spoil of the poor is in your houses: What mean ye that ye crush my people, and grind the face of the poor?" In even stronger language Micah condemns "the heads of Jacob, and the rulers of Israel... who eat the flesh of my people and flay their skin from off them, and

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1 Amos 5:11

break their bones and chop them in pieces, as for the pot and as flesh within the caldron."[1] In Amos 8:5 we read how the merchants hated to lose even the sabbath day, in such haste were they to increase their profits, by making the bushel small and the price large and"dealing falsely with balances." Hosea 12:7 and Micah 6:10-12 also speak of the "balances of deceit" and the "deceitful weights."

The worst feature of the situation was that the poor could not obtain justice in the courts of law. The old tribal elders, who had previously administered justice,had disappeared and in their place had come princes or officials who knew no tribal bonds. Their chief ambition was to get rich quickly. They exploited the poor and decided cases in favor of the rich and against the poor. They did not hesitate to take bribes, until it seemed almost impossible for the poor to get any justice in the courts. Amos 5:7-12 says they " turn justice to wormwood and cast down righteousness to the earth... they hate him that reproveth in the gate and abhor him that speaketh uprightly... they afflict the just and take a bribe and turn aside the needy in the gate."[2] Isaiah 5:7 shows how Jahveh had looked for justice and righteousness, but had seen only oppression and had heard only the cry of the oppressed.[3] He further declares 1:23 "Thy princes are rebellious and companions of thieves; every one loveth bribes, and followeth after rewards: they judge not the fatherless, neither doth the cause of the widow come unto them." Again in denouncing their injustice, he avows the woe that shall come to those who "decree unrighteous decrees, and to the writers that write

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1 Micah 3:1-3

2 See also Amos 6:12

3 " " Is. 5:23

4 Isaiah 10:1-2

5 Micah 3:1,9; 7:3

perverseness; to turn aside the needy from justice and to rob the poor of my people of their right, that widows may be their spoil, and that they may make the fatherless, their prey."[1] Micah also denounces the rulers that "abhor justice and pervert all equity... and the heads who judge for reward."[2]

Such conditions as these naturally roused the indignation of those religious leaders who interpreted religion in terms of the spiritual life. Thus men like Amos, Hosea, Isaiah and Micah were leaders in a reaction to the social corruption of their times. They felt that it was in connection with the cultus that the diseased condition of the people came to a head. Quoting Rev. Marshall Dawson,* " Their protest went forth mainly against the perversion of religious rites, because the whole life of the body politic was bound up in the implications of those rites; the judicial system, the relations of landlord and tenant, of monarch and people, all were affected directly or indirectly by the state of the cultus. A corrupt cultus meant a corrupt state, and a corrupt state meant a corrupt individual and a general condition of social inequity. To reform the cultus would reform the relations to Jahveh. Therefore they were determined to strike at the roots of the problem so far as it lay in their power."

The first outstanding reason why the prophets rejected sacrifice was due to the heathenish and idolatrous customs practiced at the shrines where the sacrifices were offered. In order to understand how some of these heathenish customs prevailed at the

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* Biblical World, Feb. 1912
1 Isaiah 10:1-2
2 Micah 3:1,9; 7:3

shrines, it is necessary to notice how Israel had come to adopt them. As a background to the religion of Israel, there were the common rites and traditions inherited from the great Semitic stock from which the Hebrews had come. As a distinctive possession, however, the Hebrews also inherited the traditions and religious customs and ideals connected with the worship of Jahveh, the God of Moses. But when they migrated into Palestine and gradually changed from a nomadic to an agricultural people, they were greatly influenced by the ideals and institutions borrowed from their Canaanite neighbors. These Canaanites had become an agricultural people and because of this, they realized the necessity of a good water-supply and fertile ground. Therefore wherever there was good soil or a spring of water, they considered that the owner of the land or the Baal had provided it and was himself present near by. Consequently all over the land, they had set up alt rs by the springs and under the big trees, where they might bring to the (Baal) owner of the land, offerings from the soil and sacrifices so that he would continue to supply rain to the ground and make it bring forth produce. Theses Canaanites in time changed Baal to Jahveh and worshipped Jahveh as their Baal still keeping many of their former heathenish rites. In later Judaism, the erroneous conception became current that Baal was an alien deity introduced fron the outside, but this was not true as there were many baals or baalim and each place came to have its baal or owner, so that there was a Baal of Dan, Beersheba, Bethel, Lebanon etc.

In the process of amalgamation of the Israelites and Canaanites the former took over many of the religious rites and customs already

established at the sanctuaries and as Mr. Ridgley says[1], " into their lofty conception of a covenant God bound to his people by ethical bonds were mixed those baser concepts of sacrifice, with its altars and its priests, its feasts and its ceremonies." Religion externally took on the form of Canaanitish cults. Like the heathen peoples, the Israelites set up "altars on every hillside and under every sacred tree." Here were introduced the sacred stone or stone pillar, to indicate the presence of the deity. Later on these stones, called Massebas assumed more and more the form to represent the deity until in the eighth century they even had images at these shrines. Then there was also the sacred post or sacred tree called asherah, beside the altar. These pillars and posts were set up at every shrine for the worship of Jahveh just as for the worship of any other god. To the prophets these were emblems of heathenism, and worship at such shrines drew the people away from the real worship of Jahveh to mere external forms.

Moreover Jahveh even came to be absorbed by the local Baals. Many of the old shrines or High Places of the land, which had first been High Places of the Baals became shrines of Jahveh, such as Baal-berith or El-berith, Bethel, Hebron and even Jerusalem. "The taking over of these sanctuaries", says Mr. Barton, "meant that Jahveh had become the god of the land, its owner or proprietor, just as the Canaanite gods had been. The term Baal was now transferred to Jahveh so that his worshippers called him Baal."[2] No wonder then that in the popular mind there was little distinction between Jahveh and the Baals or between the morality demanded by the God of Israel and that of the gods of the Canaanites.

1 Ridgley, F.H. Jewish Ethical Idealism.

2 Barton, G.A. Religion of Israel.

The very worst of these heathenish rites, was the offering of human sacrifices. In later times this has been erroneously connected with the idea of a heathen god Molech. Like the term Baal meaning owner, which was applied to any local deity and came to be applied to Jahveh, so the term Melek meaning king was also applied to Jahveh. The prophet Jeremiah had this in mind when he declared that Jahveh never asked for human sacrifices, nor had it ever entered his mind. He says ..." the shameful thing* hath devoured the labor of our fathers from our youth; their flocks and their herds, their sons and their daughters."[1]

"For the children of Judah have done that which is evil in my sight, saith Jahveh: they have set their abominations in the house which is called by my name, to defile it. And they have built the high places of Topheth, which is in the valley of the son of Hinnom, to burn their sons and their daughters in the fire; which I commanded not, neither came it into my mind." [2]

" Behold I will bring evil upon this place...
Because they have forsaken me...
And have burned incense in it unto other gods,
Whom they knew not,
They and their fathers and the kings of Judah;
And have filled this place with the blood of innocents;
And have built the high places of Baal,
To burn their sons in the fire for burnt offerings unto Baal;
Which I commanded not, nor spake it,
Neither came it into my mind." [3]

All the prophets mention the idolatrous practices of Israel and vehemently denounce them as one of the causes of the coming punishment on Israel.[4] Amos speaks of the gods which they made themselves and of the sin of Samaria which was idolatry. Hosea says,

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* altars to Baalim
1 Jer. 3:24
2 Jer. 7:30-31
3 Jer. 19:4-5
4 Amos 4:4; 5:26; 8:14
Hosea 4:12,17; 8:4,5; 10:1; 11:2; 13:2; 14:3,8.
Isaiah 2:8,18,20; 10:11 17:7,8,10.
Micah 5:12-14
Jer. 3:24 5:7 8:19 9:13 10:14 11:12-13,17 13:10 22:9 25:6 32:30 44:3

"Ephraim is joined to idols."
"Of their silver and their gold have they made them idols,
that they may be cut off."
" They sacrificed unto the Baalim, and burned incense to
graven images."

" Now they sin more and more,
And have made them molten images of their silver,
Even idols according to their own understanding,
All of them the work of the craftsmen:
They say of them, Let the men that sacrifice kiss the
calves."

In the final triumph of God's love Hosea assumes that Israel will come to Jahveh and will renounce her idols saying

"Assyria shall not save us
We will not ride upon horses:
Neither will we say any more to the work of our hands,
Ye are our gods...
What have I to do any more with idols."

Isaiah describes the land as "full of idols;
They worship the work of their own hands,
That which their fingers have made."

Like Hosea, though, he believes the time is coming when they will do away with their idols

"In that day shall a man cast away
His idols of silver and his idols of gold,
Which they made for him to worship,
To the moles and to the bats;
In that day shall a man look unto his Maker...
And he shall not look to the altars, the work of his
hands,
Neither shall he have respect to that which his fingers
have made,
Either to the Asherim or the sun images."

In speaking for Jahveh, Micah says

" And I will cut off witchcrafts out of thine hand;
And thou shalt have no more soothsayers:
And I will cut off thy graven images
And thy pillars out of the midst of thee;
And thou shalt no more worship the work of thine hands
And I will pluck up thine Asherim out of the midst of thee:"

Jeremiah is especially strong in denouncing idolatry. Jahveh says:-

" I will utter my judgements against them touching all
their wickedness; in that they have forsaken me, and

burned incense unto other gods, and worshipped the works of their own hands."

" Where are thy gods that thou hast made?
Let them arise, if they can save thee in the time of thy trouble: for according to the number of thy cities are thy gods, O Judah."

" Will ye steal, murder, and commit adultery and swear falsely, and burn incense unto Baal, and walk after other gods whom ye have not known, and come and stand before me... "

" Every goldsmith is put to shame by his graven image;
For his molten image is falsehood,
And there is no breath in them.
They are vanity, a work of delusion;
In the time of their visitation they shall perish."

He further declares that after Jerusalem is destroyed, when people shall ask why Jahveh did this to the city the answer will be " Because they forsook the covenant of Jahveh their God,
And worshipped other gods and served them."

The second reason why the prophets rejected sacrifices, was because of the immorality practiced at the sanctuaries. Such immorality was closely connected with the idolatrous and heathenish customs and was often condemned in the same breath with them. This was true of the debasing and obscene images used and also the prostitution practised at the high places. These probably came into Israel's religion through the taking over of the Canaanitish sanctuaries. Mr. Barton states, "the Canaanitish religious customs were emphatically more sensual than those of the simpler namads and against these sensual practices the awakened conscience of the prophets revolted. What cause they had to revolt, he only fully appreciates, who sees a high place like that at Gezer, excavated and beholds the countless obscene emblems which were offered as votive tokens to the deity of fertility. The wonder

is that the teaching even of the men like the great prophets of Israel ever lifted a peasantry to whom such sensual indulgence was religion, out of their slough."[1]

Instead of denouncing these things the priests only encouraged the crimes for the sake of the professional gains, "the proceeds of which went into the temple treasury."[2] Then too the priests took their share of the sacrifices and were rewarded with more food, the more the people sinned, for the worshippers brought their sin offerings to the priests. Hosea declares that "the priests feed on the sin of the people and set their heart on their iniquity."[3] These priests and prophets who were supposed to be leaders of the people were as wicked as the people and so could not lead them to better things. Hosea 4:12-14 gives us a picture of the immoral worship and its consequences. Jeremiah says

> "Woe unto the shepherds that scatter and destroy the sheep of my pasture, saith Jahveh...
> Behold I will visit upon you the evil of your doings."[4]

> " And I have seen folly in the prophets of Samaria;
> They prophecy by Baal and cause my people to err.
> In the prophets of Jerusalem also I have seen a horrible thing:
> They commit adultery, and walk in lies, and they strengthen the hands of evil doers, so that none doth return from his wickedness." 5

In addition to this immorality, gluttony and drunkeness also accompanied the religious ceremonies. Hence the sanctuaries were not places that influenced the people to forsake their sins but on the contrary through the moral debauches intensified evil desires. Not only the priests, but the princes and rulers of the

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[1] Barton, G.A Religion of Israel
2 Bade, W.F. Old Testament in Light of To-day.
3 Hosea 4:8
4 Jer. 23:1-2
5 Jer. 23:13-14a

people took a prominent part in these outrages, and their hostility to the prophetic remonstrances, showed the disease to be almost incurable.

Another reason why the prophets rejected sacrifices, was because the worshippers held the idea that sacrifices atoned for sin. Sacrifices were considered in the nature of compensation for offences. Thus sacrifices were really nothing less than bribes or attempts to purchase divine forgiveness without meeting any of the ethical requirements. Worship by sacrifices was regarded as a cover or protection from the displeasure felt by the Deity toward the sins of his worshippers. It mattered not how much the worshippers cheated, robbed, oppressed, betrayed a trust or neglected their duties to their brethren, all they needed to do was to take their sacrificial victims to some altar and there in connection with a great feast, all their sins would be forgiven them. The devotees thought they could substitute sacrifices for righteous living. The pre-exilic prophets could not sanction such a false conception and vigorously denounced the sacrificial system.

" I hate, I despise your sacrifices,
And I will take no delight in your solemn assemblies." [1]

" Bring no more vain oblations,
Incense is an abominations unto me." [2]

" Will ye steal, murder, and commit adultery,... etc
And come and stand before me, in this house
Which is called by my name, and say,
We are delivered; that ye may do all these abominations? " [3]

Such an idea of atonement made the people think that sins were external and could be gotten rid of by external animal sacrifices.

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1 Amos 5:21

2 Isaiah 1:13

3. Jer. 7:9-10

This idea was so interwoven with their worship that the whole sacrificial system must be abolished. Only by getting rid of the sacrifices could they escape the belief that sacrifices atoned for sin. Sacrifices to the prophets were not a means of atonement. In fact atonement in the modern sense of the term figured only incidently in the teachings of the prophets. Instead of atonememt by sacrifice, these leaders of ancient Israel, wanted the people to realize that only a change of conduct could win God's forgiveness.

A still further reason why the prophets rejected sacrifices was what appeared to them, the utter uselessness of such worship. It was the contention of the pre-exilic prophets that there was no use in doing in the name of religion that which Jahveh had never asked his people to do.[1] They claimed that at the outset in the classic period of Israel's religion, sacrifices had little or no place. What God had then required of the Israelites was simple obedience to the moral law. Sacrifices had no independent value. If the worshippers wished to sacrifice, they could do so, if they offered them in the right spirit, but otherwise they were worthless. Now however so many evil practices had grown up in connection with the sacrifices, that the prophets considered them no longer of value, even for social purposes. They taught that when once the worshippers were in right relations with Jahveh, nothing more was needed.

Isaiah describes in detail the existing practices of the people in regard to sacrifices,[2] with the hope of securing for themselves the blessing and prosperity which they desired. "But the prophet declared that their hopes are futile, their practices

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1 Jer. 7:22 2 Isaiah 1:11-15

are useless, they are absolutely worthless for the purpose for which they intend them. Jahveh has no regard for the sacrifices and all the ritualistic services, nor does he attend to the prayers by which they accompany and explain the purposes of the sacrifice. Whatever worth may attach to it as a means of expressing adoration, it has no worth as a means of winning the favor of Jahveh and least of all can it secure forgiveness of sins."* A true knowledge of God, they felt ought to make clear the absurdity of any additional sacrifice.

* Betteridge, W.R. Biblical world. July 1911.

CHAPTER II

THE PROPHETIC DECLARATIONS AGAINST SACRIFICE.

AMOS

The book of Amos is the earliest of the published writings of the great prophets. It is not a homogenous book but is evidently a collection of fragments from his sermons. In fact none of the prophetic books are homogenous treatises until after the exile. "The evidence in Amos" says L.B.Paton, " as with all the prophetic writings reveals a compilation of fragments of their writings put together by the prophet himself or some disciple or a later hand. The ancient Hebrews had no large size writing materials. There were no rolls before the time of Jeremiah and the piecing of skin together was not known in earlier times. They used sherds of pottery, or pieces of jars, or perhaps wrote on clay." Consequently in examining what the prophets had to say, we must bear two points in mind - - first, that we probably have not all that they said on any point, and second, that their writings were thoroughly edited by the priests of a later time and any serious objections to what the prophets expressed may have been omitted. Nevertheless with what has been preserved, there is no uncertain tone as to what they thought of the sacrificial cultus.

According to the historical allusions in the book, the prophecies of Amos were uttered between the years, 760-750 B.C., at a time of great glory and prosperity in Israel.[1] It was also a period of independence after the military victories of JereboamII.[2]

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1 Amos 5:14; 6:1-3; 13-14.

2 2 Kings 14:25-28

Amos was a sheep-breeder from the little village of Tekoa, about twelve miles south of Jerusalem, and but twenty two miles from Bethel, the chief holy place of the northern kingdom. In a series of visions,[1] Amos had a presentiment of a coming disaster about to fall on the nation. In one of these visions, he saw a basket of over-ripe fruit, which was rotten at the heart. That was like Israel, he thought. At heart the nation was morally rotten and therefore the coming disaster was nothing less than the destruction of Israel's national existence. He saw that Israel was going down in ruins because of the sins of the ruling classes and so felt he must lift up his voice in warning. Accordingly, he went from his home in Judea into the Northern kingdom to Bethel, where the great annual festivals were held. Apparently one of these national festivals was being celebrated and all classes of people would be met together for a time of feasting and revelry. Here he delivered his first address, contained in Chap. 1:2-2:16. In this address, Amos defied one of the popular conceptions of his day, that of Israel being a chosen people of Jahveh, and that therefore Jahveh would help them against all their enemies. In his other sermons, Amos condemns another of their popular conceptions and the one in which we are chiefly concerned here,- that of the efficacy of sacrifices.

He ironically says to the people of the Northern kingdom:-

" Come to Beth-el, and transgress;
To Gilgal, and multiply transgression
And bring your sacrifices every morning,
And your tithes every three days;
And offer a sacrifice of thanksgiving
of that which is leavened,
And proclaim freewill offerings and publish them:
For this liketh you, O ye children of Israel,
Saith Jahveh." [2]

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1 Amos 7:1-9 8:1-9:7

2 Amos 4:4,5.

Again when Amos exhorts the people to seek God, he tells them not to do it by the vain worship of sacrificing at the sanctuaries which Jahveh abhors and which is doomed:-

" For thus saith Jahveh unto the house of Israel,
Seek ye me and ye shall live;
But seek not Beth-el
Nor enter into Gilgal,
And pass not to Beer-sheba:
For Gilgal shall surely go into captivity,
And Bethel shall come to nought." 1

A little later he speaks again of Jahveh's abhorrence of their sacrifices:-

" I hate, I despise your feasts
And I will take no delight in your solemn assemblies.
Yea, though you offer me your burnt offerings and
meal offerings, I will not accept them:
Neither will I regard the peace offerings of your fat beasts
Take thou away from me the noise of thy songs;
For I will not hear the melody of thy viols." 2

"Did ye bring unto me sacrifices and offerings in the
wilderness, forty years, O house of Israel? " 3

When Jahveh punishes the nation because of its wickedness, Amos declares that the "high places shall be desolate,
And the sanctuaries of Israel shall be laid waste... 4
And the songs of the temple shall be howlings
in that day. " 5
" And I will turn your feasts into mourning,
And all you songs into lamentations." 6

HOSEA

Hosea, too, feels that the ritual is worthless, and that the religion of Israel has become degenerate because of it. In proclaiming the punishment that is coming to Israel because of its

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1 Amos 5: 4.5
2 Amos 5:21-23
3 Amos 5:25
4 Amos 7:9
5 Amos 8:3a
6 Amos 8:10a

sins, Hosea in speaking for Jahveh declares:-

" I will cause all her mirth to cease,
Her feasts, her new moons, and her sabbaths,
And all her solemn assemblies...
And I will visit upon her the days of the Baalim
Unto which she burned incense." 1

He also claims that Israel shall be sent into captivity where she shall be deprived of all symbols of worship, which she has used such as sacrifices, pillars, and teraphim.[2] The pillars or obelisks beside the altars were ancient symbols of Israelitish as probably of all Semitic worship. They were finally discarded by the Deuteronomic code. The household gods or teraphim were also originally common characteristics of Semitic worship. The teraph or ephod here probably denoted a divining image.*

Like Amos, Hosea denounces the ancient sanctuaries of Gilgal, Bethel, Mizpah, Gilead and others, where the sacrifices were carried on saying:-

" Come not ye to Gilgal #
Neither go up to Beth-aven
Nor swear, As Jahveh liveth." 3

" Hear this, O ye priests,
And hearken, O house of Israel,
And give ear O house of the king;
For unto you pertaineth the judgment
For ye have been a snare at Mizpah,
And a net spread upon Tabor.
And the revolters have gone deep in making slaughter;
But I am a rebuker of them all." 4

" Gilead is a city of them that work iniquity;
It is stained with blood." 5

" All their wickedness is in Gilgal;
For there I hated them:
Because of the wickedness of their doings
I will drive them out of my house." 6

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* Woods and Powell, Hebrew Prophets v.1 p.32 note.

Beth-aven, a contemptuous name for Bethel given to it because of calf worship.

1 Hosea 2:11,13a
2 Hosea 3:4
3 Hosea 4:15
4 Hosea 5:1-2
5 Hosea 6:8
6 Hosea 9:15

"Is Gilead iniquity?
They are altogether false;

In Gilgal they sacrifice bullocks;
Yea their altars are as heaps in the furrows of the fields." 1

He further declares that " their altars shall be put to shame because of their sacrifices." 2

The worshippers shall find how useless are their sacrifices for "they shall go with their flocks and with their herds to seek Jahveh (i.e. to sacrifice these animals to Him) but they shall not find him: he hath withdrawn himself from them." 3

The characteristic teaching, however, of Hosea is summed up in his classic phrase *

" I desire love(HESED) and not sacrifice.
The knowledge of God and not burnt-offerings." 4

Hosea declares the people do not sacrifice in order to worship Jahveh, but only for the sake of feasting, and Jahveh will not only reject such worship but will punish them for their sacrifices.

" As for the sacrifices of mine offerings,
They sacrifice flesh and eat it;
But Jahveh accepteth them not:
Now he will remember their iniquity
And visit their sins." 5

He will also deprive them of their corn and wine so that they shall have only enough food to eat and none to waste in sacrificial feasts.

" Rejoice not, O Israel for joy, like the peoples;
For thou hast gone a whoring from thy God,
Thou hast loved hire upon every corn-floor.
The threshing floor and the wine press shall not feed them,
And the new wine shall fail her.
They shal not dwell in Jahveh's land;
But Ephraim shall return to Egypt,
And they shall eat unclean food in Assyria.
They shall not pour out wine offerings to Jahveh,
Neither shall they be pleasing unto him:
Their sacrifices shall be unto them as the bread of mourners;
All that eat thereof shall be polluted:
For their bread shall be for their appetite;
It shall not come into the house of Jahveh." 6

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* Bade, O.T. in the Light of To-day p, 155

1 Hosea 12:11
2 Hosea 4:19
3 Hosea 5:6
4 Hosea 6:6
5 Hosea 8:13
6 Hosea 9:1-4

Though they have multiplied their altars and set up pillars, these have helped to destroy their allegiance to Jahveh and led to greater sin. Therefore Jahveh must destroy these altars where sacrifices were causing the people to sin.

" Israel is a luxuriant vine,
That putteth forth his fruit
According to the abundance of his fruit
He hath multiplied his altars;
According to the goodness of their land
They have made goodly pillars
Their heart is divided;
Now shall they be found guilty:
He will smite their altars,
He shall spoil their pillars." 1

" Because Ephraim hath multiplied altars to sin,
Altars have been unto him to sin." 2

ISAIAH

" While Amos and Hosea were struggling in the Northern kingdom to lead their people to a higher morality and a purer faith, there was growing up in Jerusalem, the chief city of the Southern state a loyal ambitious youth whose fiery sermons against political intrigue, moral abuses and perverted faith were destined to shake the Hebrew nation from border to border. This youth was Isaiah, son of Amoz the first statesman-prophet." *

In his call to be a prophet about the year 740 B.C. Isaiah has a vision, not only of his own unworthiness but of the peoples' sins. He is first freed of his own consciousness of sin, not by offering an animal sacrifice or even seeing one burning for his sin, but he feels that his own sinful lips are cleansed by the "expiatory fire from the heavenly hearth." It is an inner personal experience which prepares him to hear God's message. As Isaiah goes forth to preach, he is impressed with the awful

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* Kent & Smith, The Earlier prophets.
1 Hosea 10:1-2 2 Hosea 8:11

conditions of the city and nation.[1] Faithlessness, idolatry and injustice were common. In consequence of their moral persistence in wickedness; moral blindness had befallen the rulers and they could no longer distinguish between good and evil.[2] This is practically the same picture that Amos draws of the Northern kingdom in his day. By the time of Isaiah, Judah had reached the same stage as Israel twenty years previous. Its social, moral and religious situation in Isaiah's time was identical to Israel in Amos' time.

It was usually some national crisis or special historical event that called forth most of Isaiah's messages. Those in which he specifically denounces sacrifices came probably in the year 701 B.C. The Syrian states Judah, Philistia, and Phoenicia had formed an alliance after the death of Sargon in 705 and revolted against his successor Sennacherib, the king of Assyria. Sennacherib soon advanced with a large army to put down this revolt. The Phoenician cities fell rapidly and Judah knew her turn would soon come. Just at this point Isaiah utters his prophecy in chap. 10:5-34, in which he declares that Jahveh has commissioned the Assyrians to plunder Judah for her sins.[3] The Assyrians intend to annihilate her as they have the other nations. Isaiah further declares that the enemy will advance up to the very gates of Jerusalem and then God will rebuke him. Isaiah even mentions the very cities[4] through which the Assyrians should pass, but as a matter of fact, Sennacherib did not come that way. He advanced next into Philistia. He captured Askelon

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1 Isaiah 2:6ff.
2 " 5:20 ff.
3 Isaiah 10: 5,6,22,23.
4 " 10:28-32

and deported the inhabitants, then won a battle at Eltekah and finally captured Ekron where he impaled the leaders on sharp sticks around the wall of the city.

Judah alone remained unconquered and so naturally was in great terror of results. In order to ward off the impending calamity and to propitiate Jahveh to aid them, the people made great sacrifices. As sacrifices always meant a feast this vast amount of sacrificing literally the whole country into a banquet. The army of Sennacherib continued its march into Judah, forty-six walled cities of Judah were taken by storm and over 200,000 people made prisoners, and horses, mules, cattle, and sheep without number were captured.[1] This was a very dark time for those in Jerusalem and in great haste they tried to prepare Jerusalem for the seige. They made cisterns and tore down houses to repair the walls of the city. To this time of deep humiliation belongs Isaiah 22:1-14. The prophet describes the great reverse that Judah had sustained, and the apparent defeat of its army on the Philistine frontier. This was just the time when they should have been seeking Jahveh and repenting of their sins, but instead, Isaiah says that they have added to their wrong doing by sacrificing and feasting and revelry. In spite of all their sacrificing, he tells they cannot hope to avert the disaster which Jahveh will send to punish them. The horrible incongruity of their actions forced itself on Isaiah. He declared that weeping and mourning were

signs of repentance and not eating and drinking.

"And in that day did Jahveh, the Lord of hosts call
To weeping and to mourning,
And to baldness and to girding with sackcloth:
And behold, joy and gladness,
Slaying oxen and killing sheep,
Eating flesh and drinking wine:
Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we shall die.
And Jahveh of hosts revealed himself in mine ears,
Surely this iniquity shall not be purged from you
till ye die, saith the Lord, Jahveh of hosts." [1]

To this same time we can probably the prophecy in Isaiah 1. The prophecy is not dated in any way but the situation is identical to the one in chapter twenty two. Here he says that the nation has lost everything but the capital city. "Your country is desolate; your cities are burned with fire... and the daughter of Zion (i.e. Jerusalem) is left... as a besieged city." [2] Once more the people throng the temple and bring sacrifices in the hope of averting the disaster, and placating Jahveh. Isaiah indignantly declares that sacrifices and burnt offerings are an abomination to Jahveh:-

" What unto me is the multitude of you sacrifices?
saith Jahveh:
I have had enough of the burnt offerings of rams,
and the fat of fed beasts;
And I delight not in the blood of bullocks, or of
lambs or of he-goats.
When ye come to appear before me,
Who hath required this at your hand,
To trample my courts?
Bring no more vain oblations;
Incense is an abomination unto me;
New moon and sabbath, the calling of assemblies-
I cannot (bear them) away with iniquity and the
solemn meeting.
Your new moons and your appointed feasts my soul
hateth:
They are a trouble unto me;
I am weary of bearing them.
And when ye spread forth your hands,
I will hide mine eyes from you:

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1 Is. 22:12-14

2 Is. 1:6-9

Yea, when ye make many prayers,
I will not hear:
Your hands are full of blood." 1

Sacrifices are worthless to Jahveh, for He desires righteousness and repentance, not ritual. Only by putting away the evil may the nation escape Jahveh's wrath. If the people still disobey Jahveh will smelt the nation in the furnace to remove the dross.[2]

MICAH

While Isaiah was trying to influence the national policy of Judah through its political leaders, another prophet arose in Judah whose interests were with the peasantry and farming classes outside of Jerusalem. This was the young Micah, who lived in a little village called Moresheth, about twenty-five miles from Jerusalem.

Micah was the great champion of the common people and was chiefly concerned in denouncing the moral and social wrongs prevalent among the wealthy and official classes of Judah. The intensity of passion with with he speaks of the oppression of the peasnats, makes it seem certain that he knew from experience the wretched lot of these people. He begins his prophecies just at the time of the approaching ruin of the northern kingdom, between 724 and 722 B.C. In his earliest prophecies, found in chapters 1&2, he shows the social conditions of his day- the injustice and the grinding oppression of the poor.

Micah's message is similar to that of the other eighth century prophets. He declares that the day of Jahveh which is coming is to be a day of judgment in which the wrongs of the poor are to be avenged in blood. Micah felt that Jahveh had too sent the Assyrian calamity as a punishment for the nation's

1 Is. 1:11-15 2 Is. 1:25

sins. He declares that as Samaria, the capital of the Northern kingdom, has become a great center of idolatrous worship, it must be destroyed.

"For the transgression of Jacob is all this,
And for the house of Israel.
What is the transgression of Jacob ?
Is it not Samaria ?
And what are the high places of Judah ?
Are they not Jerusalem ?

Therefore I will make Samaria as an heap of the field,
And as the plantings of a vineyard:
And I will pour down the stones thereof into the valley,
And I will discover the foundations thereof.

And all her graven images shall be beaten to pieces,
And all her hires* shall be burned with fire,
And all her idols will I lay desolate:
For of the hire of an harlot hath she gathered them,
And unto the hire of an harlot shall they return." [1]

In chapter 1:9-16, the prophet declares that the same catastrophe that has come to Samaria shall overwhelm Judah because of her sins. It is to come even to the gates of Jerusalem, and he gives a list of the towns through which the enemy is to pass.

After the fall of Samaria, and the accession of Hezekiah to the throne about 719 B.C., Micah comes forward again with a new message, the substance of which is contained in parts of chapters 3-5. The prophecy shows that after the fall of Samaria, Judah believed it a sign that she was righteous and so had escaped. They said "Is not Jahveh in the midst of us? No evil shall come upon us." In this delusion they were confirmed by the group of false prophets. Micah describes the latter as prophets who lead the people astray.[2] They said "Peace" as long as the people gave them food but "war" when they did not. Confirmed by these prophets, the people refused to believe they were in any danger.[3] Thus the nation continued in its idolatry and the nobles oppressed the

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1 Micah 1:5-7 2 Micah 3:5 3 Micah 5:12-14
* " The offerings with which they have hired the favors of their

poor worse then before. He calls these nobles "haters of good and doers of evil, Ye that pluck off their skin from off them and their flesh from off their bones" etc.[1] In 3:11 he says the "heads judge for reward, the priests teach for hire and the prophets divine for money." They were all in a conspiracy together for money making, and with this money wrongfully taken from the poor, they were building up and adorning Jerusalem at the awful price of the blood of the people. In the earlier part of his preaching, Micah had sais destruction was coming to the gates of Jerusalem but now he thinks nothing short of the fall of the city will be sufficient punishment, for Jerusalem like Samaria has become an idolatrous and wicked city,"Therefore shall Zion, for your sake be plowed as a field, and Jerusalem shall become heaps and the mountain of the house as the high places of a forest."[2]

From Jeremiah 26:18 it appears that Micah's message met with a different response than on the previous occasion, for we are told Hezekiah inaugurated a reformation and from 2 Kings 18:3-6 we learn that Hezekiah put away foreign idolatry and removed the worst Canaanite abuses from the religion of Jahveh. He even broke in pieces the brazen serpent and tried to abolish

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gods. They are here called the hire of a harlot because idolatry meant faithlessness to Jahveh." Woods & Powell, Hebrew Prophets vol. I p.168 note.

1 Micah 3:2-3

2 Micah 3:12

the high places. The reform however was not very complete and after Hezekiah's death, it was easy for the people to fall back into their old ways.

In the last two chapters of Micah, we have a different historical situation, and it is not impossible to suppose that wrote part of them for he could easily have been living in the reign of Manasseh. There is still considerable doubt about his authorship of these chapters, because of the different moral background. In the earlier chapters of the book, Micah denounces the oppression by the ruling classes, but here he reproves the corruption of the whole city. Whether Micah or some one else wrote these chapters, makes little difference for our argument. Certain it is that the writer had caught the spirit of the prophets and believed as they did about the sacrificial cultus. In a dramatic dialogue, he has Jahveh ask what has been unreasonable in His requests. Israel then asks whether it is sacrifices that God requires and offers to give anything from the least to the most extravagant offerings in order to please him.

> "Wherewith shall I come before Jahveh,
> And bow myself before the high God ?
> Shall I come before him with burnt offerings,
> With calves a year old ?
> Will Jahveh be pleased with thousands of rams,
> Or with ten thousands of rivers of oil ?
> Shall I give my firstborn for my transgression,
> The fruit of my body for the sin of my soul ? " [1]

There is a climax throughout this question, and a subtle dramatic irony. As the passage proceeds, it becomes increasingly clear to the reader that nothing whatever in the way of offerings can possibly please God, be it one, or thousands or tens of thousands, be it vegetable or animal or man." * The prophet then answers in

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* Woods & Bowell, Hebrew prophets vol, 1 p. 179 note.
1 Micah 6:6-7

his magnificent utterance, that all God requires of them is"to do justly, to love mercy and to walk humbly with God."[1] " To the people, God was an unlimited despot, ruling arbitrarily, whose wrath, temper, blood-thirst, must be propitiated with costly gifts, and with the offering of one's self or one's dearest possession. Micah does not compromise with this conception or attempt to modify it; he sweeps it away. Jahveh is a moral being, and he demands a moral offering from the heart of his worshippers."*

LMS

Prophecy for the time being seemed to cease. Perhaps it was because there was no national crisis to rouse the prophets. During the last ten years of Hezekiah's life from 701-691 B.C. Sennacherib was engaged in a war with Babylon and Elam, so he could not invade Syria. Other forms of literature, however,apparently flourished. Among these may be included many of the Psalms. Some of them which show the historical setting may be pretty accurately dated as coming from this time. Those Psalms which especially interest us here are the ones that repudiate sacrifice. Though not dated, certain ones seem from their prophetic message to belong to this time, as Psalms 40,50 and 51 in their primitive form.

In Psalm 40:6 we read -

> "Sacrifice and offering, thou hast no delight in...
> Burnt offering and sin offering thou hast not required."

The author of this passage had a message similar to that of Isaiah and Micah.

In Psalm 50:7-15, the author certainly did not think God wanted sacrifices or that they would do any good. He plainly shows how foolish it is to sacrifice to God what already belongs to Him, for

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* Duhm, Theology of the prophets.

1 Micah 6:8

he says in speaking for Jahveh -

"Every beast of the forest is mine,
And the cattle upon a thousand hills.
I know all the birds of the mountains
And the wild beasts of the field are mine.
If I were hungry I would not tell thee
For the world is mine and the fullness thereof,
Will I eat the flesh of bulls,
Or drink the blood of goats ?
Offer unto God the sacrifices of thanksgiving;
And pay thy vows unto the most high."

So too the Psalmist in Psalm 51:16-17 realized there was something far superior to sacrifices, when he declares -

" Thou delightest not in sacrifices, else would I give it;
Thou hast no pleasure in burnt offering.
The sacrifices of God are a broken spirit;
A broken and a contrite heart, O God thou wilt not despise."

Though these Psalms have received later liturgical additions with ideas of Judaism, yet in their primitive form they seem to have come from the best period of pre-exilic prophecy.

DEUTERONOMY

After Hezekiah's death, the new king Manasseh, who sympathised with the heathen reactionary party, set to work to undo all the reforms of Hezekiah. In 2 Kings 21:2-7 we have a description of Manasseh's religious reaction, - " He did that which was evil in the sight of Jahveh, after the abominations of the nations whom Jahveh cast out before the children of Israel. For he built again the high places which Hezekiah his father had destroyed; and he reared up altars for Baal, and made an Asherah, as did Ahab king of Israel, and worshipped all the hosts of heaven, and served them. And he built altars in the house of Jahveh, whereof Jahveh said, In Jerusalem will I put my name, and he built altars for all the hosts of heaven in the two courts in the

house of Jahveh. And he made his son to pass through the fire and practised augury, and used enchantments, and dealt with them that had familiar spirits, and with wizards: he wrought much evil in the sight of Jahveh, to provoke him to anger. And he set the graven image of Asherah that he had made in the house of Jahveh..." Such a policy brought Manasseh into conflict with the prophetic party that had grown stong under Hezekiah, and when they denounced Manasseh as an apostate, he began a severe persecution of the prophets. In Micah, chapters six and seven, which we may readily suppose were written at this time, the prophet refers to this persecution, and says that so many of the good people have been killed that the righteous are as scarce as the forst ripe fruit.

An enforced silence against this reaction of Manasseh, resulted and yet as we learn from later events, a new law code was being written during his reign which made its appearance several years after Manassh's death. The writer of this book sympathised with the prophets and probably desired to see their reformation carried out, but felt it was too drastic to be actually accomplished. As a result we have the Deuteronomic compromise between the old ritual religion, upheld by the priests, and the moral teachings of the prophets. The writer aimed to do away with the worst evils of sacrifice and to give a spiritual meaning to those forms which were retained.

According to 2 Kings 22:3 this "Book of the Law" was found in the eighteenth year of King Josiah c621 B.C. by Hilkiah the high

priest, while the temple was being restored. He gave the book to Shaphan the scribe, who carried it to the king and read it to him. (2 Kings 22:10.) It must therefore have been small enough to read at one sitting, so could only have contained the code of the book. In obedience to the commands of the book, Josiah began to carry out the reforms. We have a list of these in 2 Kings 22 and 23. Everything that Josiah did is found in Deuteronomy and nowhere else. Therefore we must conclude that this was the book of Deuteronomy which the high priest found.

Moreover according to external evidence, there is no trace of Deuteronomy or its teachings before the time of Josiah. The leading men of the nation show by their actions that they did not know of the book. The fundamental demand of Deuteronomy is centralization of worship at Jerusalem and there is not the slightest trace of obedience to this commandment down to the time of Josiah. Anyway such a demand would have been impossible to make before the seemingly miraculous deliverance of Jerusalem from Sennacherib in 701 B.C. At this time all the other sanctuaries but Jerusalem were defiled and so it appeared that this must be the one place that Jahveh had chosen to have His name dwell there. The demand for the one place of worship now became practicable. The earlier prophets, Amos, Hosea, Isaiah and Micah did not use Deuteronomy, but had it been in existence, it would have been just the sort of a book they would have quoted because it is prophetic in spirit. On the other hand the great prophet Jeremiah who was a contemporary

of Josiah and had begun preaching just a few years before Deuteronomy was discovered, is the first Old Testament writer to quote Deuteronomy. Judging from the internal evidence of the book, the author has been influenced by the writings of the prophets. While he is not as extreme as the prophets, yet he condemns many of the same things.

Most authorities are agreed that Deuteronomy was written some time during Manasseh's reign probably about 650 B.C. The sins that the writer condemns are the ones that Manasseh revived. These are singled out for especial censure. On account of Manasseh's opposition and persecution of the prophets, it would have been impossible to publish the book. So the author in order to save his life, kept the book secret. For safe-keeping it was deposited in the temple, unknown to everybody except possibly the high priest. Since Manasseh's reign lasted fifty five years and his son Amon who followed him, being just as bad as Manasseh, there was no chance to bring out the book. In such a long time as this the author would have died and the high priest as well. Consequently, when in the eighteenth year of Josiah, this law book was discovered there was nothing known of its origin, except what could be gathered from its contents. It claimed to be Mose farewell to Israel, or a report of what he had taught Israel. The facts are clearly evident that it could not have been written by Moses, but on close examination we find that Deuteronomy only claims to be a representation of Moses teaching, and fundamentally in its legislation it does represent Moses teaching. Just as Webster's dictionary to-day

is along way from the first primitive edition, and has been thoroughly revised and enlarged and made to fit the present needs, so the book of Deuteronomy is Mosaic in its principles, but was brought up to date. In still later Judaism the original book was again revised and enlarged to suit the conditions of a later time. This claim that Deuteronomy was composed in the reign of Manasseh does not in any way contradict the book or its teachings. It only denies the tradition of its Mosaic authorship.

Deuteronomy shows a strange dualism in its theological views. On the one side it displays the theology of the prophets. Like the great prophets the Deuteronomist lays little value on ceremonial observances. He too demands a right attitude of heart toward God or as he calls it "circumcision of the heart." He is opposed to all sacred objects in the religion of Jahveh, such as bull images or sacred symbols. He forbids holy stones (massebas) and the planting of holy trees (asherim). The Deuteronomist idea of God is essentially righteousness. His ideas of sin and punishment for sin are prophetic. He denounces child-sacrifice, which had been reintroduced and practised by Manasseh himself, and calls it a heathenish custom and "an abomination to Jahveh." He also proscribes against the prevailing religious prostitution and immorality of his day.

On the other side the author od Deuteronomy did not go as far as the prophets in condemning ritual. He wanted to keep the religion of the prophets but reserve the less objectionable elements of the ritual religion. The prophets, as it were, taught Not ritual but righteousness, and the Deuteronomist teaching

was, Righteousness first and then ritual, are divine requirements. Thus the latter represents a compromise of the ethical religion of the prophets with the old national ritual religion. This compromise made it possible to carry out many reforms which otherwise perhaps could not have been accomplished, but its results were disastrous to the religion of the prophets.

JEREMIAH

A few years before the appearance of the Book of Deuteronomy, the last of the great pre-exilic prophets, Jeremiah, began his preaching. Our attention now is naturally turned to his attitude both toward ritual and toward the Book of Deuteronomy.

Jeremiah began to prophesy, according to Jer. 1:2 in the thirteenth year of Josiah's reign or about 626 B.C. He came from the priestly town of Anathoth, where he preached during the earlier years of his ministry. Later he moved to Jerusalem to be near the scene of his work. Although Jeremiah was of a priestly family, his writings show no trace of priestly sympathies. He constantly opposes the priests, and condemns their extortions from the people. This indictment aroused special hostility from the priests, who regarded him as a traitor and he suffered great persecution, not only from them, but from his own family. Jeremiah had a long ministry of nearly forty years, and it was a hard and sad one for he seems to have been universally misunderstood and his message apparently fell on deaf ears. Like the other great prophets, he felt God had given him a special message to deliver and we never find him shirking from what he considers his duty.

In regard to the ritual religion, Jeremiah, too rejects

the cultus and makes strong protests against pure formalism in religion. He declares all sacrifices are vain -

" To what purpose cometh there to me frank incense from Sheba,
And the sweet cane from a far country?
Your burnt offerings are not acceptable
Nor your sacrifices pleasing unto me." [1]

He calls to the multitudes that go streaming into the temple to offer sacrifices and were always talking about the temple as inviolate -

" Trust not in lying words, saying
The temple of Jahveh, the temple of Jahveh,
The temple of Jahveh are these" [2]

" Behold ye trust in lying words, that cannot profit.
Will ye steal, murder, and commit adultery, and swear falsely,
And burn incense unto Baal and walk after other gods,
Whom ye havenot known, and come and stand before me
In this house which is called by my name and say,
We are delivered, that ye may do all these abominations? " [3]

He tells them that religion does not consist in this vain worship of Jahveh but in righteousness and love. He further declares that unless they amend their ways,this very temple will be destroyed like the one in Shiloh.[4]

When Jeremiah tries to intercede for the people, Jahveh tells him to look at what is being done in the streets of Jerusalem where "the children gather the wood, and the fathers kindle the fire, and the women knead the dough, to make cakes to queen of heaven and to pour out offerings unto other gods."[5] Thus the whole people, men, women, and children are occupied in this useless cultus and nothing short of destruction will stop them. Then in disgust, Jeremiah turns and ironically tells them to go on with

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1 Jer. 6:20
2 Jer. 7:4
3 Jer. 7:8-10
4 Jer. 7:12-15
5 Jer 7:18

their sacrifices if that is what they wish to do but that it is not what God requires. From the first of their history, he declares God has required obedience and not sacrifice.

> "Thus saith Jahveh of hosts, the God of Israel:
> Add your burnt offerings unto your sacrifices
> and eat ye flesh.
> For I spake not unto your fathers, nor commanded them
> in the day that I brought them out of the land of Egypt,
> concerning burnt offerings or sacrifices: " [1]

Of Jeremiah's attitude toward Deuteronomy, and the subsequent reformation by Josiah, we cannot be certain. His writings say little if anything in favor of it. If we could be sure that Jer. 11:1-8 were written by the prophet, then he welcomed the new book at first and went about the cities of Judah reading Deuteronomy to the people and telling them its curses if they did not obey it. From this account, he was hopeful that the Deuteronomic reform would be a success and so he advocated its principles. Certainly Jeremiah would have been glad of any reforms that would do away with even part of the ritual religion and the idolatry and immorality of the times. If he accepted the book, he would emphasize only its prophetic side and not the sacrificial side. Prof. A.S. Peake says, " He may have hoped that it would avert the doom he had been sent to announce. But the illusion, if it ever possessed him, did not last. He saw the real rottenness of society and its religion, and knew that the reform was of the most superficial character." * Jeresoon became conscious that the reformation had not been a thorough one. He complains that the heart of the people still inclined to idolatry and that they secretly returned to their old

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* A.S. Peake, Religion of Israel.

1 Jer. 7:21-22

heathenish practices in spite of the covenant to pbey Deuteronomy.

In Josiah's untimely death about 609 B.C. while engaged in war with Egypt, some of the people construed that the nation had done wrong in accepting the Deuteronomic reformation. Jahveh they thought was angry at having the idols removed and changing the "good old ways". As a result the heathen party came into power and put Jehoiakim on the throne, and introduced many of the old immoral and religious abuses. Thus Jeremiah knows there has been no real reform of the heart. Henceforth in the remainder of his prophecy he pictures the coming judgment which will include the destruction of the temple and the desolation of the city. Apparently Jeremeiah believes that nothing else will awaken the people to a realization of their condition.

Certainly no words could be plainer than the messages of these pre-exilic prophets against the ritual cultus. And yet that tendency toward emphasizing the external in religion, at the cost of a true inner righteousness became more and more dominant in the life of the people until we have the glorification of the ritual religion in Judaism. Judaism was the result of the failure of the people to accept the teachings of the prophets but Christianity was a result of the victory of the religion of the prophets.

CHAPTER III

THE ESSENTIAL ELEMENTS OF THE RELIGION PROPOSED BY THE PRE-EXILIC PROPHETS IN PLACE OF THE OLD SACRIFICIAL CULTUS.

What then was it that these pre-exilic prophets wished to have the people do in worshipping Jahveh ? Certainly when they declared so emphatically that God did not want offerings and sacrifices, or worship of symbols of Him, they must have had in mind some other way which they considered Jahveh should be worshipped.

Through their own personal experiences of God, they grasped a nobler conception of Him and what He desired of His people. To them Jahveh was still the God of Israel, but this very relationship involved a mutual responsibility on the part of both. Jahveh would be just and loving and righteous to His people and he expected them to have a similar nature,- to be just and loving and righteous to Him and to one another. The tie between Jahveh and Israel was not a binding tie for Jahveh had of His own free will chosen Israel and if He desired He could break this connection whenever His people were disobedient to His commands. Thus the new conception which these prophets grasped of Jahveh was of a moral God and as a moral being "the requirements of God," says Alfred Loisy, had risen into the moral order and were no longer chiefly ritual."[1] It was a religion of right actions and right thoughts.

Justice and punishment of Sin.

One of the esssential elements in the prophetic religion was justice. As Jahveh was a God of Justice, so he demanded His

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1 Loisy, A, Religion of Israel.

people to be just. The social wrongs of the poor aroused the indignation of the prophets. Again and again they denounced the oppression of the helpless and the needy. They also condemned the contrivances that took away from the poor their lands and their homes and even their clothing.[1] They declared, "Man must be just, because a just God will punish injustice; man must be merciful, because a merciful God has all who need pity under His protection and will not overlook oppression and wrong."[2]

All the prophets urged the practice of justice as one of the divine requirements, but it was Amos whose chief message was Divine justice. As one authority says,[2] "Amos prophecy is almost one continued pronouncement of the doom of Israel, and yet Amos is convinced that God's judgments are absolutely just for in His sifting not the least grain (i.e. not one person who is good) shall fall upon the earth.[3] God's rule is a moral rule, and no ceremonial observance could ever take the place of a religious life, for the world is a moral order. Israel's sin to Amos was a provocation of Divine justice."

The punishments that were to come to each of the nations round about Israel and then to Israel and Judah as well were all because of their transgressions,[4] and a just God could not let them go unpunished. He first sent famine, draught, blasted crops pestilence, sword and earthquake, and yet,as Amos puts into Jahveh's mouth, "Ye have not returned unto me"therefore Jahveh must destroy the greater part of His people. The only course left for them, the prophet says is to

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1 Amos 2:6,8 Is. 5:8
2 Woods,& Powell, Hebrew prophets. Vol.1
3 Amos 9:9
4 Amos 1:3-2:6

"Seek Jahveh and ye shall live...
Ye who turn justice to wormwood (oppression)
And cast down righteousness to the earth." 1

Hosea also writes

" Turn thou to thy God
Keep kindness and justice
And wait for thy God continually." 2

Isaiah declares

"Cease to do evil, learn to do well,
Seek justice, relieve the oppressed
Judge the fatherless, plead for the widow" 3

Micah too in declaring what Jahveh desires makes the first requirement "to do justly." Jeremiah is full of denunciations against the prevailing injustice and oppression. He proclaims that God's judgments and punishments on the nation are only acts of justice.[4] He too urges the people to practice justice.

" O House of David, thus saith Jahveh
Execute justice in the morning
And deliver the spoiled out of the hand of the oppressor,
Lest my fury go forth like fire
And burn that none can destroy it
Because of the evil of your doings." 5

"Execute ye justice and righteousness
And deliver the spoiled out of the hand of the oppressor,
And do no wrong, do no violence
To the stranger, the fatherless, nor the widow,
Neither shed innocent blood in this place." 6

The Deuteronomist as well urges justice in his reformation program when he says

" Judges and officers shalt thou make thee
in all thy gates,
Which Jahveh thy God giveth thee...
And they shall judge the people with righteous judgment.
Thou shalt not wrest justice:
Thou shalt not respect persons:
Neither shalt thou take a bribe;
That which is altogether just shalt thou follow,
That thou mayest live, and inherit the land
Which Jahveh thy God giveth thee." 7

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1 Amos 5:6a,7
2 Hosea 12:6
3 Is. 1:17
4 Jer. 18:11-17
5 Jer.21:12
6 Jer.22:3
7 Deut. 16:18-19

In connection with this conception of justice was the idea of punishment for sin. Because Israel had departed from Jahveh, and by idolatrous worship, by oppression, by injustice to the poor and needy, by immorality and drunkeness and by foreign alliances, Jahveh must punish them. Though Jahveh was not yet, in the prophets' conceptions, the god of the other nations, they believed He could use these other nations as instuments of punishment. Consequently Jahveh allowed the Assyrian king to oppress Israel because of her sins. Jahveh says,"You only have I known of all the families of the earth, therefore I will visit upon you all your iniquities."[1] Isaiah condemned the alliances with other nations because it introduced foreign gods and led the people away from obedience to their own God. He urged them to trust Jahveh, to do good, and to make no political alliances or else Jahveh would punish them for their sins."Though Jahveh hated and must punish sin, he yearned to redeem and purify His people, and yet He would not and could not save them unless they repented and turned from their sins.*

Only by doing away with this injustice and oppression could Israel hope for pardon:

> "Seek good and not evil, that ye may live
> And so Jahveh the God of hosts shall be with you,..
> Hate the evil and love the good
> And establish justice in the gate.." 2

Amos finally declares that their worship of Jahveh with burnt offerings, meal offerings, peace offerings, music and idle songs is only mockery because what Jahveh desires for them to do is to " Let justice roll down as waters and righteousness as a mighty stream." 3 But since they would not do this, Jahveh has raised up against them a nation, which he will use to

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1 Amos 3:2
2 Amos 5:14-15
3 Amos 5:24
* Woods, & Powell, Hebrew prophets vol.1

to punish all the sinners of Israel and the day of Jahveh to which they had looked forward as a day of victory over enemies, and a day of great rejoicing shall instead be a day of gloom when Jahveh's divine justice will be vindicated by his punishment of those who had failed to practice justice as Jahveh requires.

The prophets were chiefly concerned with national sins and so their appeal was to the national conscience. It was the nation that had sinned and deserved punishment and was urged to repentance. Hosea felt sure Jahveh would punish an irreligious and immoral Israel. He says, "The Assyrian shall be their king, because they refused to return to me. And the sword shall fall upon their cities and shall comsume their bars and devour them because of their own counsels,[1] while Isaiah writes, " The destruction of transgressors and sinners shall be together and they that forsake Jahveh shall be consumed.[2] Jahveh tells Jeremiah to thus answer the people when they ask why such punishment is coming to them:

" Because your fathers have forsaken me,
And have not kept my law,
And ye have done evil
More than your fathers...
And hearkened not unto me,
Therefore I will cast you
Forth out of this land..." [3]

Of course such punishment for sins as well as forgiveness of sins concerned this life only, for the prophets had not yet conceived of a hereafter where a man received rewards for his good or bad deeds. Instead, punishment in their conception, came to the nation through poverty, famine, woes and defeat by their

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1 Hosea 11:3-6
2 Isaiah 1:28
3 Jer. 16:10-13

enemies, while prosperity, plenty, joy, and victory over their enemies were evidences of forgiveness and that the nation was doing that which was pleasing to Jahveh.

Righteousness and obedience.

Another of the essential elements in the prophetic religion instead of the orgiastic ceremonials and sacrifices, was righteousness. This was to take the form of right conduct. The prophets all were sure that righteousness was necessary and was decreed by the will of God, and that He would not tolerate anything else. Again and again they urged the people to get right with Jahveh, which was only another way of saying, get right through and through. Righteousness was often spoken of together with justice and obedience. Righteousness consisted of obedience to the moral demands of Jahveh. Jahveh wanted the people to abandon their sacrifices and instead to practice justice and kindness and righteousness. In Hosea we read that God wants love and not sacrifice. Micah answers his own question, "What doth Jahveh require of thee ?" by replying, " To do justly, and to love kindness, and to walk humbly with thy God." In other words he was practically saying, God doesn't want all this ritual performance and all these ceremonies and sacrifices, his requirements are very simple for he wants you to treat each other justly and to be kind to one another obeying his commands and not acting superior to your neighbors. Isaiah states specifically some of the demands of Jahveh such as:

> "Wash you, make you clean, put away the evil of your doings from before mine eyes, cease to do evil, learn to do well, seek justice, relieve the oppressed... [1]

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[1] Isaiah 1:16-17

These earlier prophets insisted that outward religious observances were useless and even detestable to God without a righteous life. Jeremiah further contended that conduct and character are themselves the outcome of an inward religious principle:

> "Let him that glorieth, glory in this, that he understandeth and knoweth me, that I am Jahveh, which exerciseth loving kindness, justice and righteousness in the earth for in these things I delight, saith Jahveh." 1

Jeremiah says that what God did ask of his people when he brought them out of Egypt was not burnt offerings and sacrifices, but this thing I did command them saying, " Hearken unto my voice and I will be your God and ye shall be my people, and walk ye in all the ways that I command you that it may be well with you." Always and everywhere the demand of Jahveh upon His people is for obedience and righteousness:

> "
> Take thou away from me the noise of thy songs,
> For I will not hear the melody of thy viols.
> But let justice roll down as waters
> And righteousness as a mighty stream." 2

" This is one of the great passages in the prophetic literature," says A.C.Knudson.* In it we have expressed the supreme value in the religious life, of righteousness. Henceforth, in religion, the one essential thing will be the right attitude of mind and heart. The only worship that will be acceptable to Jehovah will be worship in spirit and truth. And so against the popular trust in sacrifices, and the popular belief in the election of Israel, and the common assurance that Jahveh would in some marvelous way intervene on their

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* Knudson, A.C. Religious teaching of the Old Testament.
1 Jer. 9:24
2 Amos 5:24

behalf in the day of trouble, Amos laid down the principle that the only hope of Israel was to be found in righteousness, by which he meant true morality - respect for personality in oneself and in others. It was because the Israelites lacked this, that doom was about to come to them. The only way it could be avoided was to put justice in the place of injustice, humanity in the place of inhumanity and righteousness in the place of unrighteousness."

"Obedience to these moral demands will bring from Jahveh the forgiveness and complete removal of their sins, while disobedience, which we may assume will manifest itself primarily in refusal to heed these moral demands and in obstinate persistence in the sacrificial cultus or in other words in the continuance in man-made methods of seeking the divine favor instead of following the divinely ordained plan, will inevitably result in complete destruction.

The righteousness demanded by the prophets was public righteousness. Not primarily if at all, did they think of the righteousness which would find its manifestation only in the inner relations of the individual soul to his God. They were dealing with the community and the necessary evidences of repentance in public life were in their judgment the practice of justice, righteousness and mercy in the relations of man with man. And in this respect it was only natural that emphasis should be laid especially upon the manifestation of these qualities toward those members of the community who were not in a position to demand them or to inflict vengeance upon those by whom they had been wronged. Social righteousness was for them the necessary and natural evidence of repentance and hence the indisputable condition for forgiveness and the continued manifestation of the divine favor." *

* Betteridge, W.R. Biblical World July 1911

An Ethical religion.

Though the prophets were uncompromising in their hostility to everything heathen in the Israelite religion of their day, especially to the ritual borrowed from the Canaanites, yet they singled out the ethical tendency in the religion and by clearing away misunderstandings and external forms, they furthered the development of a moral and spiritual religion. From the prophets down we find the belief in God as the one and only Jahveh of Israel, and mightier than all the gods of the neighboring peoples. As the only Jahveh He loved His people and could not accept sacrifices and burnt offerings as a substitute for right doing, when he required above all things justice, righteousness, obedience, loving kindness, and humility.

Amos, Hosea and Isaiah had made religion a matter of ethics, of holy love, and of moral faith, but Jeremiah went still farther. He made religion a matter of personal piety. Religion to the Eighth century prophets was primarily a national affair but Jeremiah gave it also a personal note, which was illustrated in his own life and in his relations to God. Jeremiah's message of doom was similar to the other prophets. Social and moral conditions in the seventh century were much the same as in the eighth century and he felt God must punish His people for their sins. The particular evil, however which Jeremiah emphasizes is deceit. Amos considered Israel's sin to be social injustice, Hosea thought it was disloyalty or unfaithfulness to Jahveh, and Isaiah as unbelief in Jahveh, but to Jeremiah it was stubbornness of the heart, which through man's persistence in sin turned him away from God. Jahveh

however was ever ready to heal the backslidings of His children.

" Had it not been for the prophets," says W. Boussett, "the religion of Israel would probably have vanished without a trace amid the confusions of the nations. Assyria would have conquered North Israel and Babylon, South Israel as dozens of other tribes were conquered of which we now know nothing except the names. The prophets placed the people's belief on a new and higher basis. Their important work was to hold fast to the belief in Jahveh and declare that it was not the foreign gods who should destroy Israel but Jahveh who would destroy His own people by using these strange people as a scourge to Israel. Jahveh himself however would endure forever in His majesty and glory. The prophets saved the religion of their people. They gave it a new foundation, so that it became strong enough to survive the passing away of the particular form of national life in which the faith had originated." * These prophets, who ceased to stress the old ritual religion and made the religion of Israel an ethical religion, were a product of the best in the Jewish nation, and led in the great moral advance which culminated in the supreme figure of all history,- Christ.

onclusion

No attempt has been made in this paper to show the origin of sacrifice. The practice reaches too far back into early history. A great advance in religion was certainly begun when men conceived that killing of people and animals as a religious rite was not from God. Even in our modern life we find traces of the old be-

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* Boussett, Wilhelm, What is religion.

belief. It still hinders our conception of a just and clean and beautiful God. Many good people still believe it was the abuse and not the use of the sacrificial system that was denounced by the prophets.

Of course, now that we do not sacrifice, it might at first seem that it did no harm to believe that sacrifice was once right and taught by our Heavenly Father. A second thought, however, must convince us that such a conception belittles God; it makes us conceive of Him as placing emphasis on outward formal rites; it is undoubtedly the basis of the theory of blood atonement, now being outgrown; the fine meaning of the word sacrifice is spoiled when related to the heathenish custom of wilfully taking other lives. As modern prophets can we not look forward to the day when the whole sacrificial cultus shall be considered to have been unclean, immoral, heathenish, repulsive ? Advancing Christianity is glad to know that even before the Jewish exile, sacrifices were disproved of by the great prophets of Israel.

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THE IDEA OF ATONEMENT
IN THE
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THE IDEA OF ATONEMENT IN THE OLD TESTAMENT

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THE IDEA OF ATONEMENT IN THE OLD TESTAMENT

Introduction

From the dawn of history the consciousness of sin has been present to all people and races. To be sure, the concept varied much in proportion to the culture and the environment of the people; but the concept itself is always and everywhere present. With this sense of guilt there is always a corresponding need of the divine forgiveness. So we find all sorts of ideas in primitive people, as to the manner in which forgiveness may be obtained and the anger of the gods appeased. The idea as to how a people may atone for its sins depends very largely upon the prevailing conception of God. In the study of primitive ideas of atonement, we find the conception varies from the lowest materialist concept to the highest ritualistic development.

In this study of atonement, the subject will be limited to the idea found in the Old Testament, and only that material will be used which will throw light upon the subject from the kindred people of Israel. The attitude of investigation will be that of historical interpretation, and not of theological systematization. The idea of atonement will be traced from its earliest historical record to its highest form of development.

I. ATONEMENT IN ITS EARLIEST FORM

Every one who reads the Old Testament with care is struck with the fact that the origin and rationale of sacrifice are nowhere fully explained; that sacrifice is an essential part of religion,- is taken for granted as something which is not a doctrine peculiar to Israel but is a universal practice of all semitic peoples. When we go back to the most ancient religious conceptions and usages of the Hebrews we find them to be the common property of a group of kindred peoples,and not the exclusive possession of the tribes of Israel. Nations which spring from a common stock have,as a rule,a common inheritance of traditional belief and usage,in things sacred as well as profane,and thus the evidence that Hebrews and their neighbours have a large common stock of religious tradition falls in with evidence which we have from other sources.[1]

1. The Relation of God to Natural Things.

In order to fully understand the early idea of Atonement we must first take up the study of the people's ideas about the relation of God with natural things. In this research we find that all acts of ancient worship have a material embodiment which is not left to the choice of the worshipper,but is limited by fixed rules,which must be performed at certain places and at certain times,with the aid of certain material appliances and according to certain mechanical forms. These rules import that the

1. Smith,W.R.: RELIGION OF THE SEMITES

intercourse between the deity and his worshippers is subject to physical conditions of a definite kind,and this again implies that the relations between God and men are not independent of the material environment.

(1) Holy Places.

All acts of worship in ancient times were performed at a holy place,and thus the local connections of the Gods are involved,explicitly or implicitly,in every function of religion. Gods were conceived to be bound to certain limited areas of space and resided in certain places or fixed sanctuaries. "Caanan" was believed to be Jehovah's land,as Israel is Jehovah's people (Hos.9^3) The deity could not be worshipped outside of His own land (I Sam.26^{19} ; Hos.9^4). It was held in the early period of history that the land of a strange God was not a fit place to erect a sanctuary. In the language of the Old Testament,foreign countries are unclean (Amos 7^{17}; Josh.22^{19}).

It was believed in early Hebrew History that the deity had certain fixed dwelling places,and if any of them was discovered by the worshipper,by a favor shown to him,altars or temples were erected upon the place (Gen.28^{18-19}). All that was necessary to constitute a Semitic sanctuary was a precedent. It was assumed that where God had once manifested Himself and shown favor to his worshippers He would do so again,and when the precedent was strengthened by frequent repetitions the holiness of the place is fully established. The patriarchs found altars and sanctuaries on the spot where the deity appeared to them (Gen.12^7; 22^{14}; 28^{18ff}; Ex.17^{15}). When Jacob dreamed of the divine

apparition at Bethel,he concludes not merely that Jehovah was present there at the moment,but that the place is "the house of God, the gate of heaven". And accordingly Bethel continued to be regarded as a sanctuary of the first class down to the captivity.

(2) Conception of Holiness

Holiness in the Old Testament is conceived as infectious, propagating itself by physical contact. If common things were brought in contact with things very sacred,they became themselves "sanctified" and hence could no longer be used for common purposes. (Lev.6^{27}; Ex.29^{37},30^{29}; Lev.$6^{18,28}$)[1] The vessels of brass could be scoured and rinsed in water and thus the holiness could be washed off,but in case of a porous earthen vessel,the infection was so great that it had to be destroyed. Uncleanness is thought of in the same way as holiness. If any person touches a corpse,or anything that is believed to be unclean,the person becomes defiled by contagion,as we conceive a person to become diseased by coming in contact with a person who has a contagious disease. One person, it was believed,could communicate the unpleasant consequences to the whole community. Therefore,the breaking of a taboo,whether by accident or design,was a sin and as such prejudicial to the welfare of the community. It was every one's concern to wipe out such a sin,and it was usually done by wiping out the sinner. The mysterious contagion of Achan's violated taboo was supposed to have spread to everything about him; so the Israelites killed not only him,but his entire family and his domestic animals. This was believed to

1. Kennedy: NEW CENTURY BIBLE,-LEVITICUS

destroy the source of the contagion.[1]

(3) Stones the Residing Places of God

Not only places are held as being sacred,but also stones in the Semitic religion are the residing places of the deity. The Arabs paid particular honor to stones. At every sanctuary one or more stones were set up. These were generally unworked,in few instances they were hewn. They were used as altars and represented the deity,-not in the sense that the stone was an image of it,but that the deity was supposed to dwell in the stone or to be in some way peculiarly connected with it.

The Hebrews had similar practices; in connection with every sanctuary there was a sacred stone,called "Mazzebah". The word is identical in root and composition with the Arabic form "Mansab", and from the earliest references it is clear that the "Mazzebah", like the "Mansab",was a rude stone,not an image,and that,at the outset at least,it was used like the Arabic "Mansab" for an altar and also to represent the deity. Saul erected such an altar (I Sam 14^{32-35}). The original sanctuary of Israel,west of the Jordan,was(according to the Book of Joshua) a Gilgal,that is,a circle of rude stones. This remained until the middle of the eighth century B.C. (Hos.$4^{4,15}$).

We find,further,that there was an altar also of unhewn stones erected on Mount Ebal in the Mountain of Ephriam (Josh.8^{30}) and we read of at least one Gilgal west of Jordan,besides the one near Jericho.[2]

1. Prof.W.F.Bade: THE OLD TESTAMENT IN THE LIGHT OF TODAY

2. Peters: RELIGION OF THE HEBREWS pp64-67

In the early Arabic use the altar was not a hearth and there were no burnt offerings. The part of the animal offered to God was the blood,which was poured on the stone or into a hole beneath the stone,where such a hole existed. The sacrifice consisted in pouring out the blood,which was the God's part; this done,the worshipper feasted on the creature sacrificed. Whoever killed an animal made a sacrifice to God and he who partook of it partook of the sacrifice to that God. A clansman may not partake of an animal slain by a stranger because in doing so he would take part in a sacrifice to the God of the stranger. The blood was the life. It was the bond of union between the members of the tribes and between the tribe and its God. Sacrifice was a renewal of covenant,a strengthening of the blood union between the God and his worshippers and between the members of the tribe.

Among the Arabs a person who was not a member of the tribe might enter into a covenant of blood with a member of any tribe, mingling their blood with that of the God by smearing it upon a stone,and thus the men become blood relations. For the actual blood of the persons making the covenant,there was substituted more commonly the blood of animals. The hands of the two covenanting parties might be dipped in a bowl of the blood of animals. Sometimes the blood was applied by sprinkling. The underlying principle in all these forms was that of blood relationship; the bond which united the members of a tribe with one another was a relation of blood,that the same relation existed between the tribe

and its god,and that by the transfusion of blood a blood relationship might be established or confirmed between individual men,or between men and God.

What we found in the customs of the Arabs,we also find in other semitic people. As already referred to above,to the experience of Saul when he could not have the regular ceremony,he caused a large stone to be set up and bade the people to pour the blood upon it. The blood is thus given to God and the eating of the animal is a sacrifice to God. (I Sam.1432-35) There was always great emphasis laid upon the blood as being the life. It is forbidden to be eaten. The blood is either to be sprinkled upon the altar or poured at its foot. So,in either case,it is given to God,for the altar stands for God as did the primitive Mansab.[1]

We can farther see that among the Hebrews the blood was,metaphorically at least,consumed by the people. This is the meaning of the ritual of the covenant sacrifice described in Exodus 24, where half of the blood was sprinkled on the altar and half on the people. In the case of the passover,the blood was communicated to the people by being smeared upon the doorposts. In both cases the idea is the same,that of a very special covenant with God,in which God and His worshippers are made of one blood or their blood kinship renewed by partaking of the blood.[2]

1. Peters: RELIGION OF THE HEBREWS,p.67
2. Trumbull: THE BLOOD COVENANT.

WE must farther take into consideration that religion in primitive life was not founded upon ethical and spiritual basis, but rather consisted of a series of acts and observances,the correct performance of which was necessary or desirable to secure the favor of the gods or to avert their anger; and in these observances every member of society had a share,marked out for him either by virtue of his being born within a certain family or by virtue of the station which he had,in the course of his life,come to hold. A man did not choose his religion or frame it for himself; it came to him as part of the general scheme of social obligation and ordinances laid upon him,as a matter of course,by his position in the family and in the nation. Religion did not exist for the saving of souls but for the preservation and for the welfare of the society, and in all that was necessary to this end every man had to take his part,or break with the domestic and political community to which he belonged. In such a society the gods had their part and place as members equally with men. The circle into which a man was born embraced a group of kinfolks and the gods of the family. (Gen.31[30])[1]

Access to God,in the early history of Israel,was limited by local conditions. There is no worship without access to the deity before whom the worshipper draws nigh to express his homage. In the Old Testament,the worshipper sought access to God in an earthly sanctuary,or at a sacred place where an altar was erected,which was for him,as it were,the meeting place of heaven and earth. Such holy points of contact with the divine presence were locally fixed,

1. Smith,W.R.: RELIGION OF THE SEMITES,p 25.

and their mark was the altar,where the worshipper presented his homage,not in purely spiritual utterance,but in material form of altar gift. The promise of blessing (or,as we should not call it, the answer to prayer) is in the Old Testament strictly attached to the local sanctuary (Ex 20^{24}). Every visible act of worship is subjected to this condition. To David,banishment from the land of Israel and its sanctuaries is a command to serve other gods (I Sam.26^{19} compare with Deut.$28^{36,64}$). And the worship of the sanctuary imperatively demands the tokens of material homage,the Gift without which no Oriental would approach even an earthly court.(Ex.23^{15}) Prayer without approach to the sanctuary is not recognized as part of the "service of Jehovah".

2. The Significance of Early Sacrifice.

The sacrificial meal was an appropriate expression of the antique ideal of religious life,not merely because it was a social act and an act in which the God and his worshippers were conceived as partaking together,but because the very act of eating and drinking with a man was a symbol and a confirmation of fellowship and mutual social obligation. The one thing directly expressed in the sacrificial meal is that the God and his worshippers are commensals,but every other point in their mutual relations is included in what this involves. Those who sit at meat together are united for all social effects; those who do not eat together are aliens to one another,without fellowship in religion and without reciprocal social duties.[1]

1. W.R.Smith: RELIGION OF THE SEMITES,p.269

In the most primitive society the sacrament of the common meal constitutes the most binding obligation; such,only,is the kind of fellowship which is absolute and inviolable. To the primitive man all other men fall under two classes,those to whom his life is sacred and those to whom it is not sacred. The former are his fellows; the latter are strangers and potential foemen,with whom it is absurd to think of forming any inviolable tie unless they are first brought into the circle within which each man's life is sacred to all his comrades. After a man is brought into the clan he is looked upon as of one blood (Judges 9^{2}; II Sam. 5^{1}; Lev.25^{49}).

Aside from those facts it can be further noticed that the circle of common religion and of common social duties was identical with that of natural kinship,and the god himself was conceived as a being of the same stock with his worshippers. It was natural, therefore,that the kinsmen and their kindred god should seal and strengthen their fellowship by meeting together from time to time to nourish their common life by a common meal,to which those outside the kin were not admitted. This custom prevailed long after the Hebrews were united as a nation under the worship of Jehovah; when the clan sacrifice appeared every member of the group was bound to be present (I Sam.20^{29}).

(1) Spirit of Early Sacrifice.

The ordinary type of Hebrew worship was essentially social, as we have already shown above. In antiquity all religion was the

affair of the community rather than of the individual. A sacrifice was a public ceremony of a township or of a clan. Private householders were accustomed to reserve their offerings for the annual feasts,satisfying their religious feelings in the interval by vows to be discharged when the festal season came around (I Sam.$1^{3,21}$). Then the crowds streamed into the sanctuary from all sides,dressed in their gayest attire (Hos.2^{15}),marching joyfully to the sound of music (Isa.30^{29}) and bearing with them not only the victims appointed for sacrifice,but store of bread and wine to set forth the feast (I Sam.10^{3}). The law of the feast was open-handed hospitality; no sacrifice was complete without guests,and portions were freely distributed to rich and poor within the circle of a man's acquaintance (I Sam 9^{13}; II Sam.6^{19};15^{11}; Judges 9^{27};16^{23}). Universal hilarity prevailed, men ate,drank and were merry together,rejoicing before their God.

Such was the prevailing custom everywhere in ancient times. At such gatherings ample sacrifices were offered to the Deity. Whenever the people feasted and were glad they always desired that their God should be of the party. This view is proper to religions in which the habitual temper of the worshippers is one of joyous confidence in their God,untroubled by any habitual sense of human guilt,and resting on the firm conviction that they and the deity they adore are good friends,who understand each other perfectly and are united by bonds not easily broken. The basis of this confidence lies,of course,in the view that God is part and parcel of the same natural community with the worshippers.

The divine father or king claims the same kind of respect and service as a human father or king,and practical religion is simply a branch of social duty,an understood part of the conduct of daily life,governed by fixed rules,to which every one has been trained from his infancy.

(2) The Meaning of Atonement.

In the earliest form of worship the sense of sin is very vague,except that of neglecting to perform certain duties to the deity,or offense against the life of a clansman or stranger. If at any time famine,pestilence,or disaster in war appear to show that the gods are angry,this casts no doubt on the adequacy of the religious system as such,but is merely held to prove that a grave fault has been committed by some one for whom the community is responsible,and that they are bound to put it right by an appropriate reparation.

The reparation in the early history of Israel was conceived as paying ransom(kopher). In Ex.21[30] we have a law which provides that in the case of an ox,known to be vicious,destroying a person,the owner must make good the loss by the forfeit of his own life,or if the relative of the dead person prefer,by the payment of a kopher,that is,a bloodwit,a ransom. This bloodwit is defined by the context as the "redemption of his life". This was merely a human transaction. But we know from the passage Gen 4[10],if a person shed innocent blood,atonement for the sin was required from Jehovah. The blood of Abel crying to God denotes strictly the cry for help and especially for redress or

vengeance (Ex.22[22,26]). The effect of the ransom is the appeasement of the kinsmen's wrath and the consequent escape from death on the part of the guilty. The conception of kopher as a gift of money intended to deflect the natural course of justice appears,also,in I Sam.12[3],as denoting a "bribe". The thought in the word is that of "compensation"rather than substitution.

The verb "to atone" is unanimously conceded to be a denominative derived from the more original kopher; the same general sense,therefore,should characterize both. It satisfactorily represents the verb in I Sam.9[14],"The guilt of the house of Eli shall not be compensated for by sacrifice or offering forever", which clearly implies that ordinary guilt may be so expiated. In II Sam.21[3],the answer of the Gibeonites to David's question, "Wherewith shall I make compensation?" shows that two kinds of expiation were allowable in such a case (Ex 21[30]),either the bloodwit or the life for life,and that the surviving kinsmen had the right to decide between them. The sequel indicates that the decision was binding both upon God and man; they were alike appeased. Appeasement brought about through gifts by way of compensation for past injuries and offenses is the content of the verb in the only other passage belonging to this period in which it occurs,Gen.32[21]. Jacob says concerning Esau,"I would appease his face with the present that precedes me,and afterward I would see his face,perhaps he will be gracious to me".[1]

This custom which we find among the Hebrew people is also

1. Smith,J.M.P.: ATONEMENT,p.15

prevalent among the Arabs. If a man among any tribe kills one of his own kin he finds no one to take his part. He either is put to death by his own people or he becomes an outlaw and must take refuge in an alien group. On the other hand if the slayer and slain are of different kindred groups,a blood feud at once arises,and the slain man may be avenged by any member of his own group on any member of the group of the slayer. There are, however,instances where bloodwit is accepted for the slain clansman either in money or in camels. The satisfactory arrangement depends mostly upon the nearest kinsman;if he accepts the gift offered,the blood feud will end.[1]

The idea of atonement contained in the early Hebrew writing is that of satisfaction,as the offended clansman had to be placated. The same conception was held of Jehovah; if sinned against,he had to be propitiated by a gift (I Sam.26^{19}; II Sam. 24^{25}; Gen.8^{20-22}(=J)). There was,however,no special form of propitiatory sacrifice required; any ordinary sacrifice could be used for the purpose of making atonement; Noah offered burnt offerings, (Gen.8^{20-22}); David,burnt-offerings and peace-offerings (II Sam.24^{25}) The elaborate ritual for the specific purpose of atonement was developed by the later generations. In addition to this reliance upon sacrifice as a means of atoning for sin,there was even in early days the belief that God would pardon those repenting. Repentance serves as the occasion and ground of pardon in the case of David when Israel was afflicted

1. Smith,W.R.: KINSHIP AND MARRIAGE,p.27

by pestilence on account of the census ordered by him(II Sam. 24^{15-25}). But the contrition of David was reinforced by offering sacrifices and the narrative lays as much stress,however,upon the outward act as upon the inner feeling. In the case of Rahab, the harlot of Jericho,her good deeds done toward the Hebrew spies atone for her past wickedness and secure her immunity from the destruction meted out to her fellow-citizens (Josh.6^{25}).

The theory of propitiation by substitution must be considered at this early period of religious development of the Hebrews. The whole idea of a gift to Jehovah involves certain kinds of substitution. It is held that He accepts a more or less valuable offering as an evidence of genuine surrow for guilt,and so is willing to forego his right to vengeance upon the sinner. The passages which are used to base the substitution theory upon are I Sam.14^{43-45}; Ex.34^{20}; Gen.22^{1-14}(E); II Sam.21^{1-14}. In reference to I Sam.14^{43-45},the question must remain open; the narrative furnishes no answer,or correct solution. Ex.34^{20}(=J) provides for the redemption of the first born of both men and domestic animals alike,and does not deal with the question of atoning for sin. In the story,where the crime of the Gibeanites avenged itself upon the house of Saul,(II Sam.21^{1-4}) we have a certain kind of substitution,but here the instance is like that of the Arabian blood-revenge,where the solidarity of the family idea is very strong,and if any person of the murderer's family was slain,primitive justice was satisfied. The

family was thought of as a social body; to punish any member of it was to punish all members. From this point of view,there is no substitution; the family has committed the offence and the family bears the penalty.[1] In the story of Jehovah's command to Abraham to sacrifice Isaac (Gen 22^{1ff}) there is no thought of atonement for sin. The ram substituted for the boy has no idea of penal substitution,but simply an example of the general practice in accordance with which Jehovah accepts a substitute for that which he has a right to insist upon,were he so minded.

In the survey of the facts in regard to the primitive conception of Atonement,the main idea regarding it was that of compensation,made to Jehovah for the purpose of mitigating the punishment or (in the case of the infliction of the death-penalty)in order to save the life forfeited by guilt to Jehovah. There is no clear case of penal substitution in this period recorded; that is, of an offender saved from death by the infliction of the penalty upon a guiltless human substitute. The general idea of substitution is that Jehovah will sometimes forego His right to demand the surrender of a life to Him in death and will accept compensation in lieu of it. But in other cases, nothing less than the death penalty would appease the wrath of Jehovah.

1. Smith,J.M.P.: ATONEMENT

II. ATONEMENT IN THE PROPHETS AND DEUTERONOMY

A. The Prophets.

The first half of the eighth century B.C. was the era of stern consciousness. Assyria and Egypt contested for the supremacy in the East,and,using Palestine as the great highway from the valley and plains of the Euphrates to the valley and delta of the Nile, the march of the caravan in peace,or of the army in war,was seen nearly every day in the year. Here,from Amos' day onward for a hundred and fifty years,the advance or retreat of the Assyrian or Egyptian host was almost ceaseless.

The imminent danger of invasion of Israel and Judah brought forth a new era,and with it a new task for the prophets to transform the primitive cults of religion to a practical salvation pregnant with righteousness. To this task they gave themselves with unselfish and unremitting zeal and achieved marked advances in spiritual culture. The glory of the prophets is that they knew where to place the emphasis in religion. They sought to substitute for rites and ceremonies something that would instill moral fibre and strength. They demanded righteousness worthy of their blessings and pointed the demand with earnest warning,that evil might not be far away. This potential evil became a reality and gradually settled darkly upon the helpless people of Israel. With the approach of danger the prophets became more fervent in their demand for national righteousness. They aimed to make religion

a genuine heart experience,which would change and control the current life. They preached passionately a message of justice, truth and mercy which,they urged,was more acceptable to God than sacrifice and burnt offering.

1. The Rise of the Early Prophets

The earliest prophets of whom we have any record,such as Elijah and Elisha,strove to influence the nation by the living message which they have spoken,but Amos and Hosea introduced a new epoch because they were the first to write down the lesson they had to teach. (The discussion of this section of the thesis will not go beyond those prophets whose messages we have in written form in the Old Testament.) These prophets who had written their prophecy had a wider outlook than their predecessors, as shown by the deeds recorded in the Scriptures. When they spoke Israel had come into permanent relations with the great empires of Western Asia,Assyria and Babylonia. War has raged between these great world empires for successive generations. In the meantime Jeroboam freed himself from the yoke of the Syrians. But after the Assyrian king was free to give his attention to Palestine,he swept Syria out of the way,by his conquest,and thus removed the buffer state which interposed between Israel and Assyria and sealed its doom. Samaria soon followed the fate of Damascus in 721 B.C. For the first time in its history,Israel was in the hands of a foe who left them without reasonable hope of escape. Amos,the earliest of the literary

prophets,was not slow,even when all seemed well,to discern the signs of the times. Henceforth it became the business of the prophets to inculcate a new and absolute trust in Jehovah,and thus with the inspiring message for the need of the hour,the prophets took the lead as the religious teachers.[1]

The established or official prophets of Israel were men skilled in enchantment and divination,whose business was a trade. Amos,Isaiah and Micah disclaimed them and had nothing in common with them; they declaim against the accepted prophecy of their time, as they do against all other parts of the national religion which were no longer discriminated from heathenism. They accepted the principle that prophecy is essential to religion. They admit that Jehovah's guidance of His people must take the form of continual revelation,supplying those needs which drive heathen nations and the unspiritual masses of Israel to practice divination. But the method of true revelation has nothing in common with the art of the diviner (Isa.8^{19}). The wizards,by their ventriloquist arts,professed to make their inquirers hear the voice of ghosts and gibbering spirits rising from the underground abodes of the dead,(Isa.29^{4}; Sam 28); but Jehovah is a living God,a moral and personal being. He speaks to His prophets,not in magical processes or through the visions of poor phrenetics,but by a clear intelligible word addressed to the intellect and the heart. The characteristic of the true prophet is that he retains his consciousness and self-control under revelation. The prophets be-

1. Addis: HEBREW RELIGION

lieved themselves to be filled with the spirit of Jehovah(Micah 3^8; Isa.8^{11};Jer.20^9),so that they could not remain silent. Isaiah was forbidden to walk in the way of the corrupt nation,Micah was filled with power to declare unto Jacob his transgression,and Jeremiah was supported with an inward joy in the midst of all his trials (Jer.15^{16}). The first condition of these prophets' religion was pure lips and hearts right with God (Isa.6; Jer 15^{19}). Thus the essence and emphasis of true prophecy was placed upon moral converse with Jehovah and not upon ceremonial worship. In this moral converse the prophets learned the divine will,entered into the secrets of Jehovah's purpose,and so,by declaring God's word to Israel,kept alive a constant spiritual intercourse between Him and His people.[1]

2. The Relation of God to His People.

The prophets were teaching that the bond between Jehovah and Israel was a moral one and not a natural family tie,as the early Semites thought. There were some of the popular prophets,mainly interested in their own gain,who still taught the people that as Israel was bound to Jehovah,so was He bound to them. The people needed help,and their God,they thought,needed sacrifice and praise. His credit depended on natural victory. In other words,the bond between God and the Hebrew kingdom was natural. Amos and his successors,on the other hand,held that the bond between Israel and Jehovah was moral and spiritual. If Israel were to be victorious through Jehovah,then she must do God's righteous will.

1. W.R.Smith: THE OLD TESTAMENT IN THE JEWISH CHURCH, 488 ff

The nation depended wholly upon Him,but He had no need of the nation. If Israel were gone Jehovah would still abide,and would work out His unchangeable designs in the history of the world. The prophets looked upon the defeats of Israel as the ministers of Jehovah's own instrument of wrath to correct the sinful nation.

The essential messages of the prophets to Israel are that Jehovah requires a heart purged from sin,and so able to enter with boldness into the inner circle of fellpwship with Him. The spirit of Jehovah,which rests on the prophets,is not merely a spirit of wisdom and understanding,- a spirit of council and might,but a spirit to know and fear the Lord (Isa.11[2]). The knowledge and fear of Jehovah is the sum of all prophetic wisdom,and of all religion. But this spirit in the Old covenant,was believed to rest only upon chosen organs of revelation,and not upon all the faithful worshippers. This corresponds to the limitations of the dispensation,in which the primary subject of religion is not the individual but the nation. So Israel's personal converse with Jehovah could only be adequately maintained through the medium of certain chosen and representative persons. So the prophet is thus a mediator,who not only brings God's word to the people but also makes intercession for the people of God (Isa.37[4]; Jer.14[7]; 15[1]).

The prophets demanded of Israel righteousness and purity of national life. They condemned corrupt administration of the Law which prevailed in the land. They delivered their messages to the wicked,that they might turn"from the evil of their doings"(Jer.23[21]).

They denounced murder,robbery,deceit,adultery,and the immoral worship in the high places. They had nothing but stern condemnation for trust in alliances and large armies,and for self-righteousness and formalism with which men drew near to God.[1]

3. The Prophets' Attitude Towards Ritualism

The prophets' teaching concerning atonement runs along different lines from those followed by the preprophetic teaching. The reason for this lies in the prophets' conception of sin. For them sin is an attitude or an act of the will. Sin,in the mind of the prophets,is no unconscious,"unwitting" accident,but a choice.

> "Man wills to be and do evil rather than good. Therefore sacrifices and offerings in themselves can be of no effect in appeasing God when angry on account of sin. Nothing will serve to assuage the divine wrath save the total abandonment of the evil ways or thoughts that have occasioned the wrath. No gifts can atone to the Lord of the whole earth for violation of His moral and spiritual law. Resolute turning-away from evil is the only thing required; but it is an indispensable prerequisite of pardon and the restoration of divine favor."[2]

Amos lays no importance upon sacrifice as an atonement for Israel's sin,to Jehovah. He not only teaches morality and condemns its opposite,but insists that one cannot please Jehovah without observing the ethical requirements growing out of man's nature and environment. His attitude is very pronounced and outspoken against the sacrificial cultus,which prevailed in his

1. Addis: HEBREW RELIGION,p 147
2. Smith,J.M.P.: BIBLICAL WORLD,Feb.1908

time. He makes very effective use of irony against the transgressors of Israel. "Come",he says,"To Bethel to transgress! At Gilgal multiply transgression! Yea,bring your sacrifice every morning,your tithes every three days; and burn a thank-offering of unleavened bread,and proclaim,publish,free-will offerings; for thus ye love to do,children of Israel,said the Lord Jehovah." (Amos 4^{4-13}) . It is clear that the prophet here means to say that the zeal of Israel in making the round of the popular sanctuaries and presenting there their tithes and sacrifices was not only useless as a religious practice,but positively offensive to the Deity. The same thought is even more forcibly expressed in 5^{21ff},where,after asserting the worthlessness of feasts and offerings, he tells them with what offering God is pleased. Amos,speaking for Jehovah says,

> "I hate,I despise your feasts,and I take no delight in your festivals. For,when ye offer to me your burnt offering and vegetable offerings,I am not pleased,and I regard not the fatlings of your peace offerings. Away from me with the noise of your songs,and let me not hear the sound of your psalteries; but let justice run like water,and righteousness like a living stream."[1]

The prophets' idea of atonement was too lofty and too simple for the mass of their contemporaries. They sought to propitiate the angry Jehovah in their succession of calamities,by loading Him down with offerings. They tried to buy His favor. In their desperation

1. Mitchell: ETHICS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT, p 95

to get God's help they offered their own offspring,as burnt offerings (Mic 6^{6-8}; II Kings 21^{6}; Jer.44^{15-19}; Ezek.8^{7-18}; chap 22)

Under the system of the law enforced by Ezra the ritualistic worship became very prominent. The writing of Malachi gives strong sanction to this idea of worship.In this writing,the first proof of Israel's sin is the neglect of the sacrificial ritual. But the language of the older prophets up to Jerimiah is quite different. Isaiah says:

> "What are your many sacrifices to me? saith Jehovah. I delight not in the blood of bullocks and lambs,and he-goats. When ye come to see my face,who hath asked this at your hand,to tread my courts? Bring no more vain oblations; incense is an abomination,my soul hateth your new moons and your feasts; they are a burden upon me; I am weary to bear them." Isa.1^{11ff}

The early prophets held that God was indifferent to ritual sacrifices. Amos says that the people did not offer sacrifices to God in the wilderness during those forty years of wandering (Amos 2^{10};5^{25}).

Micah's attitude is similar to that of Amos and Isaiah. He declares that Jehovah does not require sacrifice; He asks nothing of His people,but "to do justly,and love mercy,and walk humbly with their God" (Micah 6^{8}). And Jeremiah says, "Put your burnt offerings to your sacrifices and eat flesh. For I spake not to your fathers and gave them no command in the day that I brought them out of Egypt concerning burnt offerings or sacrifices. But this thing

commanded I them,saying, "Obey my voice,and I will be your God,and ye shall be my people" (7^{21}) W.R.Smith,in commenting on these verses says, "They(the prophets) deny that these things are of positive divine institution,or have any part in the scheme on which Jehovah's grace is administered in Israel. Jehovah,they say,has not enjoined sacrifice. This does not imply that He has never accepted sacrifice,or that ritual service is absolutely wrong. But it is at best mere form,which does not purchase any favor from Jehovah,and might be given up without offence. It is impossible to give a flatter contradiction to the traditional theory that the Levitical system was enacted in the wilderness. The theology of of the prophets before Ezekiel has no place for the system of priestly sacrifice and ritual.[1]

In the later development of the Idea of Atonement,it took on the nature of vicarious suffering. This method of explaining the disasters and calamities at the decline of the Hebrew nation became a very favorable expression of the prophets. Isaiah. 52^{13} -53^{12} is used to explain the sufferings of the Servant of the Lord. The Servant here described is the people of Israel,the nation as a whole and not any part of it,nor any individual member of it. The reason for Israel's suffering,in this passage of Scripture,is said to be for the heathen nations. The penalty due their sins has been borne by Israel. He has suffered in their place. The thought of vicarious suffering runs through this entire passage. "For the Hebrews,the character of God made it necessary that he should punish sin." This punishment came in the way of earthly disaster and

1. Smith,W.R.: THE OLD TESTAMENT IN THE JEWISH CHURCH,p 295

calamity. If suffering came to nation or individual,it constituted indisputable evidence of sin. As the righteous servant suffers, it must be vicarious; and so bears the penalty of others' sin (v.10). "By the knowledge of himself shall my righteous Servant make many righteous" (v.11). "His experience serves as an object lesson setting forth to the nations of the world the character of the righteous God and the depths of their own iniquity. It awakens in them amazement and repentance. It stirs the depths of their being and leads them to acknowledge their sins and accept the healing rendered accessible to them through his sufferings.[1]

Under the Old Testament the forgiveness of sins is an actual experience,the substance of it is the continual enjoyment of those practical marks of Jehovah's favor which are experienced in the peaceful occupation of Canaan and deliverance from all trouble. This practical way of estimating forgiveness is common to all the prophets with their contemporaries. Jehovah's anger,if felt in national calamity,forgiveness is realised in the removal of chastisement. The proof that Jehovah is a forgiving God is that He does not retain His anger for ever,but turns and has compassion on his people (Micah 7^{18ff}; $Isa.12^{1}$).

The prophets held that Jehovah chastises his people that they may repent and return to obedience,and,in return,experience God's goodness in deliverance from calamity and happy possession of a fruitful land.

1. Smith,J.M.P.: BIBLICAL IDEAS OF ATONEMENT

According to the prophets,this law of chastisement and forgiveness works directly,without the intervention of any ritual sacrament. Jehovah's love is never withdrawn from His people,even in their deepest sin and in His sternest chastisement. "How can I give thee up Ephraim? How can I cast thee away,Israel? My heart burns within me,my compassion is all kindled. I will not execute the fierceness of my wrath; I will not turn to destroy thee; for I am God and not man,the Holy One in the midst of thee" (Hos.10^8). This inalienable Divine love,the sovereignty of God's own redeeming purpose,is the ground of forgiveness (Isa 43^{25}; Hos 14^2; Micah 7^{20};6^{1ff}; Jer 7^{1ff}). [1]

B. Deuteronomy.

Deuteronomy contains a body of law set in a prophetic background. In the main it contains the moral teachings of the prophets reduced to practical system[2]. An effort by the writer of this book is made to bring the prophetic ideals of the future into present realization of the people. Under such general ideas fall all the prescriptions regarding cleanness,purification,and the like.

Most scholars hold that Deuteronomy is mainly a compromise between the priestly ritualistic worship and that of the spiritual teaching of the prophets. Such rituals as we find in these writings are commonly directed against heathen worship; which are

1. Smith,W.R.: THE OLD TESTAMENT IN THE JEWISH CHURCH
2. Bade,W.F.: THE OLD TESTAMENT IN THE LIGHT OF TODAY,p 307

mainly negative. In the matter of sacrifice and festal observances the new code simply diverts the old homage of Israel from the local sanctuaries to the central shrine,and all material offerings are summed up under the principles of gladness before Jehovah at the great agricultural feasts and of homage paid to Him in acknowledgment that the good things of the land of Canaan are His gift to Israel (Deut.26^{10}).

Deuteronomy knows nothing of a written sacrificial priestly Torah,though it refers the people to the Torah of the priest on the subject of leprosy (Deut.24^{8}),and acknowledges their authority as judges in law suits. In this Deuteronomic Code,the idea of sin has more of an ethical meaning than a ritualistic conception. A sin means a crime,as in the prophets,an offence to law and justice(19^{15}:21^{22}; 22^{26}),an act of heathenism (20^{18}),a breach of faith towards Jehovah (23^{21-22}),or a lack of kindliness to the poor (24^{15}). There are two forms of doctrine of sin set forth in the Deuteronomic Code; the earlier holds that children suffer at the hands of Jehovah for sins of their parents (Deut.5^{19}); while in a later section of the law this older conception is repudiated in the plainest terms (Deut 24^{16}). Professor J.M.Smith says the only hypothesis that satisfactorily explains the conflict in this particular case is that of a considerable lapse of time between the promulgation of the two laws,during which man's sociological and religious ideas had been undergoing a thorough revision; or that of the origin of the Deuteronomic Code from different

sources finally brought together,but not completely harmonized.[1]

The only clear case of atonement in Deuteronomy is found in a law which provides for the atonement to be made in case a man is found murdered and the identity of the murderer is not discovered (Deut 21^{1-9}). This idea of atonement must be a remnant of an old custom. The ritual performed is not,however,an atonement for the offender,but rather the declaration of innocence of the town from the crime which was committed. The elders slay a heifer at the bank of a stream,wash their hands over the carcass and take oath that they have no knowledge of or share in the crime. This is the only method by which they can clear themselves and their city from the responsibility of the guilt. We can clearly see the old feeling of the communistic responsibility for the blood shed in its vicinity. The whole proceeding has a religious character,similar to that of a sacrifice offered to Jehovah "in the presence of the priest,and in the final appeal to Jehovah for pardon,and thus the heifer seems to serve as substitute for the unknown murderer and bears the penalty that properly belonged to him".[2]

The idea of substitutionary sacrifice was the essence of which this passage originated from,but in the Deuteronomic version, as it stands now,the emphasis is not upon the slaughter of the animal so much as it is upon the state of mind of the elders,their attitude toward the crime and toward Jehovah. The slaughter is

1. Smith,J.M.P.: ATONEMENT,p.31

2. Smith,J.M.P.: Ibid,p.32

necessary,indeed,but it serves largely as demonstrating the sincerity of the elder's protestations of innocence and plea for mercy. The substitutionary function of the slaughter is reaffirmed,but it is supplemented by the prophetic requirement of clean hands and a pure heart. A primitive,legalistic,non-ethical element in the law is the conviction that the spilling of human blood must be avenged and atoned for,even if the guilty person cannot be found,lest divine wrath rest upon the land. The same feeling about blood is attested by Deut.19[13] and 22[8].

By summing up the result of the idea of atonement found in Deuteronomy and in the prophetic literature,we notice

(1) That the emphasis is laid upon repentance as the condition for pardon
(2) That Jehovah alone can purify the guilty (Ezek 16[63]; Isa.6[7]; 22[14]; Jer.18[23]; Deut.21[8]) and He does it on His own free grace
(3) That each person's sins must be forgiven him and cannot be borne by any one else
(4) That the penal substitution is acceptable in Isa.53

"There is no carefully wrought-out system of thought upon this subject,nor were pains taken by the prophetic teacher to bring their utterances into harmony with those of their predecessors and contemporaries." [1]

1. Smith,J.M.P.: BIBLICAL IDEAS OF ATONEMENT,p.41

III. Atonement in the Priestly Writings

The priestly writers in the Old Testament occupy themselves much with the sacrificial institution; they give a minute classification of the various kinds of offerings and a description of the procedure to be followed in the case of each. In the Priests' Code the sacrificial ritual is a constituent,and indeed a very essential element,of the Mosaic legislation; that ritual is not represented as ancient usage handed down to the Israelites by living practice from ancestral times; but it was ascribed to Moses who gave them the theory of it,and he himself,they say,received this very elaborate instruction from God (Ex.25; Lev.1). There is great emphasis laid upon the technique of sacrifice,in the Priests' Code; it is worked out in minute detail as to where,when,by whom,and how it should be offered. Such a system differs very widely from what is found in the earlier period of the history of Israel in J and E documents.

The Priests' Code was compiled during the period of the Exile, at the end of the sixth century,B.C. It was brought forth as an expression and emphasis of the legal side of the spirit of rigid externalism and priestly domination by which it was hoped to supply the lack of prophetic inspiration and freedom,and to keep the people true to an observance and faith in which they had hitherto so lamentably failed. Later still came the work of the editors or revisers; their work was not accomplished at one time or in one stage,

but probably extended over a considerable time which blended the whole together,and harmonized it,then presented it to the people. It was adopted by the Jewish people under the influence of Ezra and Nehemiah.. This action marked an epoch in the history of the Hebrew religion. This act signalized the triumph of the legalistic,priestly aspect of religious thought. Prophecy had emphasized the value of the ethical element,and of man's right relation to his fellow man,as indispensable to his acceptance with God; while the priestly legislation lays its stress upon the distinctively religious element. It seeks to secure the desired attitude by providing a series of acts,by the performance of which accounts the worshipper becomes acceptable in the sight of God.

1. The Work of the Priestly Writers

The priestly writers lay chief emphasis upon their newly acquired privileges which accrued to them through the discovery of Deuteronomy. The ritualistic worship occupies the foreground of their thought and colours their entire writings. Ezekiel so exaggerates Jehovah's interest in correct performance of the ritual that ethical considerations became markedly secondary. His introduction of a distinction between'the Levites that went far from me' and 'the priests,the Levites,the Sons of Zadok',of whom he was one,had the double effect of making the latter the sole custodians of the sacrificial ritual and the exclusive recipients of the priestly revenues.[1]

1. BADE,W.F.: The Old Testament in the Light of Today,p.302

In the time of Solomon,the family of Zadok carried on the priestly function in the temple. They were regarded as belonging to the general class of Levites,by which name the ministers of all the Jehovah sanctuaries were known. The writer of Deuteronomy knew no difference between priests and Levites. In its command to abolish the High-places,the book does not mean to have the ministers of these sanctuaries deprived of their rights as priests of Jehovah. It specifically ordains that they shall become part of the ministry of the Temple (Deut.18$^{1-8}$). But it was hardly to be expected that the house of Zadok,already in possession,would surrender its prerogatives. Under pressure from Josiah,the newcomers were enrolled in the Temple staff,but equality with the Zadokites could not be carried through.

The Levites,though true priests of Jehovah,have been guilty of defection from His worship in that they served the High-places. The Zadokites punished them for their crime by making them and their descendants ministers of a lower class. The Levites could only perform work of a secondary nature,in the Temple,similar to that of the uncircumcised temple slaves. Thus the whole of the sacred service was to be in the hands of consecrated persons,for by the bringing to Jerusalem of the priests of the high places,which became the Levites,the temple-slaves were removed. Thus the abolition of all sanctuaries of Jehovah outside of Jerusalem created a distinction between the priests of the proscribed sanctuaries,who lost their livelihood,and those who were attached to the chosen sanctuary. By restricting the cultus to the sanctuary at Jerusalem,the priestly side of worship gained a decisive victory over

the prophetic teaching,and received the monopoly of all revenues of the temple.

This carefully wrought-out system of sacrifice was edited by the Exilic priesthood. Wellhausen says:

> "So long as the sacrificial worship remained in actual use,it was zealously carried on,but people did not concern themselves with it theoretically,and hadnot the least occasion for reducing it to a code. But once the temple was in ruins,the cultus at an end,its personnel out of employment,it is easy to understand how the sacred praxis should have become a matter of theory and writing,so that it might not altogether perish,and how an exiled priest should have begun to point the picture of it as he carried it in his memory,and to publish it as a programme for the future restoration of the theocracy."

An exiled priest saw the need and occasion to draft such a sketch of the temple worship,as we have it now in the Old Testament,in its elaborate system,and thus set himself to the task to bring it into realization,which,in the process of time,was perfected by the priestly writers. If such a highly developed cultus had existed in the Mosaic Code,what need would there have been for it if the realised picture,corresponding completely to his views,had actually existed,and being already written in a book,wholly obviated any danger,except that the cultus might become extinct through the mere fact of its temporary cessation.

During this priestly development,there grew gradually a very

keen sense of distinction between the sacred and the profane,so that the possibilities of defilement are constantly present. Special rites of purification became very prominent and had to be observed at stated times. One could hardly have been too scrupulous,for an unwitting violation of the rules for holiness may bring down the wrath of Jehovah. With the best will in the world one may come into contact with that which is ritually defiling. Even the priest is not exempt from such contagion. The sanctuary itself or its vessels may be affected by it. To prevent so disastrous a state of things, a special class of offerings now were brought into prominence by the priestly hierarchy. These are called sin offerings,and have special efficacy in removing ceremonial defilement.

Similar offerings,to be sure,were found in early religion; they were only expiatory in a very nascent conception. When the deity was angry a gift had to be offered in the form of a sacrificial animal,which cooled his anger and restored the old relation of fellowship between God and His worshippers. This method of restoring the broken fellowship was taken over by the priestly writers and a highly ceremonial system was worked out from it.

There comes an increasing prominence and emphasis of sin and sacrifice for its propitiation. In the Priest's Code the peculiar mystery in the case of all animal sacrifices is atonement by blood; this appears in its purest development in the case of the sin and trespass offering,which are offered as well for individuals as for the congregation and for its head,the high priest. In a certain

sense,the great "day of atonement" is the culmination of the whole religious and sacrificial service; amid all diversities of ritual there is an underlying reference to sin throughout. Of this feature, the ancient sacrifices present few traces. The ancient offerings were wholly of a joyous nature (Hos.9^{1ff}; Amos 5^{23};8^{3}; Isa.30^{32}), but in the priestly sacrifices the joyful elements are eliminated and a mournful sense of sin put in its place.

In the older forms of sacrifices,there were only two kinds of offerings,the burnt-offering and the thank-offering. In the case of the first,the whole animal is offered on the altar; in the other, God receives,besides the blood,only an honorary portion,while the rest of the flesh is eaten by the sacrificial guests. It was the rule that only blood and fat were laid upon the altar,but the people ate the flesh; only in the case of very great sacrificial feasts was a large animal (or more) given to Jehovah(Ex.32^{6}; Jd.9^{27}; II Sam.15^{11ff}; Amos 2^{7}). Where a sacrifice took place,there was also eating and drinking. There was no offering without a meal (K Kings 1^{9}) But in the ritualistic development we find an entirely different picture. Here are no longer remarks that a meal accompanies every sacrifice; eating before Jehovah nowhere occurs,or, at all events,is no act of divine worship. Slaying and sacrificing are no longer accompanied with feasting in the priestly writings.

What the thank-offering has lost,the sin and trespass offering have gained. The voluntary private offering which the sacrificer

ate in a joyful company at the holy place,has given way before the compulsory,of which he obtains no share,and from which the character of the sacred meal has been altogether taken away. The burnt-offering continues to be a meal,but God alone partakes of it. In the case of the sin-offering,everything is kept far out of sight,which could recall a meal,as,for example,the accompaniments of meal and wine,oil and salt; of the flesh no portion reaches the altar; it all goes as a fine to the priest. Of this ritualistic-developed form of sacrifice in the Priest's Code,Wellhausen says:

> "There is not a single trace in the rest of the Old Testament, before Ezekiel,neither in J or D,nor in the historical or prophetic books. Olah and Zebach comprehend all animal sacrifices. Olah and Minhah,or Zebach and Minhah,all sacrifices whatsoever; nowhere is a special kind of sacrifice for atonement met with." (I Sam 3^{14}) [1]

In summarizing the contrast of the earlier writings of Israel with those of the Priestly documents it may be concluded that the sacrificial worship of Israel existed from a very early period,and had more or less importance attached to it,but in the earlier period it rested upon custom,inherited from the fathers,while in the post-exilian period,it was said to be the Law of Jehovah given through Moses. At first it was naive,and what was chiefly considered was the quantity and quality of the gift; afterwards it became legal, the scrupulous fulfilment of the law and was held to be of greater importance than everything else.

1. WELLLHAUSEN,J: Prolegamena to the History of Israel,p.73

2. Priestly Conception of Atonement

The priestly compilers held that Jehovah was constantly in a frame of mind that needed appeasement. The conceptions of clean and unclean,or sacred and profane were constantly held before the minds of the people. If any person were to intrude what was not consecreated into the presence of Jehovah,it would arouse His wrath against him. To be sure of acceptance with him it was best to be on the safe side and placate him at every approach. His mind might be gracious toward his people,and yet the individual who came near might be in a state of defilement that would rouse his wrath. In the earlier period the priest had a right to exact fine in case a man came to the sanctuary in a state of ritual unfitness. But in the later date,sin-offerings and trespass-offerings were provided with which to appease Jehovah. The point of view is, however,the same; all are payments,by way of indemnity,in compensation of some supposed or suspected violation of the rights of the deity.

In the priestly period of religious development God and man are at the farthest poles of estrangement. God was conceived as absolutely holy and man as desperately wicked. This conception of the relation between God and man made the task of atonement very difficult. Sin,however,was not primarily viewed as an act of the will,but also as "unwitting sins" which entered into the consciousness of religious thinking of Israel. Unwitting sins might be committed by touching any unclean thing. To make atonement for such sins was not less requisite than that of deliberate sin. Child-

birth was looked upon as defiling the mother (Lev.12$^{6-8}$); if any person touched a corpse accidentally,he could not enter the "holy place" because he became unclean; those who ministered at the altar had to guard themselves constantly lest they render themselves unfit for the services of Jehovah. Thus there was a constant danger of committing sin and hence called for a provision of atonement by which reconciliation could be made between God and man (Ezek.43$^{19-27}$; Ex.29^{36ff}). If atonement was not made for any priest who happened to be ritually unclean,and performed the service of the temple in his uncleanness,it meant death for him. (Lev.15^{31})

There are,in general,three classes of sins for which atonement had to be made,in the priestly writings.

1. That of uncleanness
2. "Unwitting sins",or accidental transgressions
3. Deliberate,intentional sins.

For all these different kinds of defilements there had to be atonement made,by which the person or thing could be cleansed and made acceptable to Jehovah.

The word'atone' has two meanings. One derives the noun from a verb meaning "to wipe off",a meaning which is still found in Syriac. The other assigns to the verb the meaning "to cover", supposedly based on Arabic analogies. As between the two there can be no doubt that the probabilities are in favor of the former. It is more natural to think of wiping out a debt than to cover it. The noun means payment or gift in settlement of a claim; the verb means to make such a payment or gift.

The whole series of sacrifices must be viewed as a penalty to God,in the same manner as he who pays a fine to a person whose anger must be appeased. The pacifying of the anger of one meant, in Israel,the smoothing of the face.

The transition to liturgical usage of atonement is made by thinking of any transgression of the rights of God as a debt which must be satisfied. The compensation or appeasement is effected by the offering,because they are a satisfying savor to Jehovah (Lev.1[3,4,9]). Ezekiel lays emphasis upon the same meaning of atoning. In his new commonwealth,he ordains that the prince shall see to the performance of the whole temple service in order to appease Jehovah in behalf of the people.[1]

Professor Smith says,

> "The purpose of the atoning act,in the priestly code as elsewhere,is to facilitate communion with God,to remove obstacles to such communion, of whatever sort they may be. The efficacy of the transaction lies in the performance of the atoning act; that is the sine qua non. In certain cases confession of sin accompanied the act (e.g.,Lev.16[21]). But in many others where atonement was called for there was nothing to confess; the act was all in all."[2]

The rite of atonement during this period acquired the function as the purging agency. Both persons and things were purified from uncleanness and sin by the means of purgation. Blood

1. SMITH,H.P. The Old Testament Theory of Atonement,American Journal of Theology,vol.X,pp 412-422

2. SMITH,J.M.P.: Biblical Ideas of Atonement,p.48

plays a very large part in the idea of atonement. The person or thing to be cleansed is anointed or sprinkled with blood and this act removes all impurity as if by magic. It was the most valued element to Jehovah. It was absolutely forbidden to be used as food by Israel. We can notice its efficacy in such a passage as: "Any man of the house of Israel or of the clients who sojourn among you who eats any blood,I will set my face against that soul, which eats blood,and will cut it off from the midst of its people. For the life of the flesh is in the blood,and I have given it to you on the altar to make appeasement for your lives; for the blood makes appeasement by virtue of the life therein" (Lev.$17^{10,11}$). The reason given is that the blood is brought to the altar,and this in turn is accounted for by the value of the blood as containing the life. The sacrifice is however viewed as a gift,which was considered among the Hebrews food given or offered to Jehovah. This idea was retained even by the priestly prophet Ezekiel,and the later priestly writers (Ezek.44^{7},cf. Lev.3^{17}; 17^{10ff}).

The blood was accounted as the most valuable gift to Jehovah, and as the distinction between sacred and profane gained importance, power was attributed to the blood to remove from persons or things defilements. The animal was consecrated to God and thus became holy and able to communicate the holiness to the person or thing. So the blood was employed as a consecrating medium for the sanctuary, for the sacred vessels,for the people as a whole,for the priesthood

and for individuals who had lost their ritual purity.

That the atonement was a gift which placates the wrath of Jehovah,and not some substitutional or peculiar taking of life,can be seen from the fact that blood offering,as highly as it was valued,was not absolutely necessary. For if a man were poor he was allowed to bring some flour as his gift,which was as efficacious as the animal sacrifice (Lev.5^{11ff}). At times even incense was efficacious in appeasing the wrath of Jehovah.

> "When the people murmured against Moses and Aaron in the affair of Korah,the anger of Jehovah was kindled and the plague broke out. At Moses' command Aaron took a censer and when the incense was ignited,the plague was stayed. Undoubtedly the main lesson of the story is the efficacy of the priestly mediation. Nevertheless, one perceives it that it is the pleasing gift which appeases the wrath."[1]

We can further see that even in the Priests' Code itself sacrifice is represented as a gift; even the sin offering is so designated (Lev.4^{23,28,32}:5^{11}). That the animal suffers a vicarious death in order to satisfy the demand of divine justice cannot be maintained as a fact,for we notice that the sin of the person cannot be transferred to the slain victim,because fine flour may also constitute a sin-offering(Lev.5$^{11-13}$),in which can be no vicarious death for sin. It can be farther observed that the sin-offering and trespass-offering are most holy. If sin was transferred from the sinning person to the slain animal,it could under no circumstances remain most holy (Lev.5^{13}; 6^{24f};7^{6}). Had the guilt of the

1. SMITH,H.P.: The Old Testament Theory of Atonement,Amer.Journal of Theology,Vol.X.

sinner been transferred to the animal,it could not have been offered as a most holy sacrifice unto the Lord,yet it was so holy that if any person even touched the sacrifice he became holy. In many instances no atonement could suffice for the offenses of the sinner except his own death (Ex.35[2]; Lev.20[9-16,27];24[16ff,21]; Num.15[32-36]). This fact affords further evidence that the death of the animal was not regarded as the equivalent of the death of the sinner. On the contrary,by the very fact of being consecrated to Jehovah it became most holy and thus we must view it as a gift to Him.

The laying on of hands of the person upon the animal has often been interpreted as substitutionary sacrifice. It is said that by the act of the sinner laying his hands upon the head of the victim he thereby imparts his own guilt to the animal,which dies in his place (Lev.1[4]) There are many instances in which by the laying on of hands good gifts are imparted,but in no case is evil transmitted. In the instance of one accused of blasphemy,the witnesses lay their hands upon his head,probably for the purpose of solemnly identifying the offender,or of vouching for the truthfulness of their testimony,but not to symbolize the transmitting of guilt,for they are innocent and the real offender is already guilty (Lev.24[10ff]). The only clear case we have in the cultus in which there is clearly sin transmitted through laying on of hands is that of the goat sent away to Azazel (Lev.16[21]); but this animal

is not slaughtered in sacrifice,nor is its blood sprinkled upon the altar. There is thus no parallel here to the atoning sacrifice.

The laying on of hands upon the head of the victim to be sacrificed should be viewed as a testimony of the worshipper that the sacrifice is given by himself,rather than as a transferring of the person's sins to the head of the animal. The peace-offering and the burnt-offering in Lev.1^4 and 3^2 are distinctly gifts to the Deity. The sin-offering must also be viewed as a gift (Lev.4^{23}) for it was sacrificed to God and its flesh was "most holy", and the priests alone were allowed to eat of it,under certain restrictions (Lev.5^{13}; 6^{24f}; 7^6) Professor Smith says:

> "This is scarcely consistent with the view that the sin has been transferred to the slain animal. Then,too,the emphasis of the ritual is not upon the slaughter,as would be the case if the death of the sinner were the end in view,but rather upon the sprinkling of the blood upon the altar. Furthermore, animals were slain for other sacrificial offerings where the purpose was not to make atonement for sin; hence the death of the sacrificial animal is evidently consonant with other interpretations than that of vicarious satisfaction."[1]

The word "atonement" is used in another aspect in the Priest's Code;that is,the Levites are given to God for the firstborn of

1. SMITH,J.M.P.: Atonement,p.57

Israel upon whom Jehovah has the same claim as he has upon the first-fruits and firstlings (Ex.13[2]; Num.3[12f,41]; 8[16-18];18[15]). This,to be sure,is a vicarious offering;but it is not penal substitution,for there is no question of guilt here,nor is there any thought of death in the law. The life-service of the Levites is dedicated to Jehovah as a gift in compensation for the life-service of the firstborn. Samuel was dedicated to Jehovah in similar manner. The "atonement money" has similar significance which had to be paid by every male person above twenty years of age,that there might be no plague in Israel,as it was witnessed at the time of David when he took the census. This money had to be paid to the Deity in order to appease him.

Thus the atoning sacrifice of the Priests' Code can all be explained either from the viewpoint as being a cleansing agency which renders ritually defiled persons clean,or as being a gift to Jehovah which assures him of the sinner's sorrow and desire for pardon. The exact performance of the entire ceremony was the essential thing; no part of the sacrificial rite was considered to have any more efficacy than another; but the entire rite was necessary to secure the desired atonement,which would propitiate the wrath of Jehovah. The sacrifice was offered as an act of obedience by the worshipper,by which it was believed that God would be pleased and so would withhold the afflicting rod. (Lev.26[1-46])

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By

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I.

INTRODUCTION

"But when the fulness of the time
came, God sent forth his Son."

and in the pregnant phrase "fulness of time" Paul grants his readers a swiftly vivid flash of light on the unique condition of the world at the time of Christianity's advent in Jesus.

But he does not stop to tell us of the components of this "Pleroma"; rather, one might say, he arouses curiosity, challenges intelligence and, in his absorption in other matters, passes on to the readers themselves, ancient and modern alike, the task of investigating the details of those preparations, unconsciously but painfully undergone by the world for the coming of the final faith and hope in Christ and His church. But, in the usual religious interpretation of this meaningful phrase, too often it has been given merely a negative content, -i.e., the "fulness" was a "fulness of need" only, that, before Christianity stepped on the stage of the world, the nations were religiously bankrupt! Such an interpretation overlooks another statement, by the same apostle in his address before the Athenians on Mars Hill, when he tells those hearers that they were, not irreligious or even 'superstitious', as the King James Version renders the passage (or rather, the Greek word "deisidaimonesterous") but, as the Revised gives it, "very religious", - a statement of Paul's real knowledge of the then existing religious conditions, but which, until late, was either overlooked or passed by lightly by Christian commentators. These evidently thought that they were doing Chris-

tianity much honor in holding that oppostion to its tenets was practically limited to the then prevalent Atheism,crass superstition, and a tincture of philosophical pride,that of live,active even missionary religions,with strong influential followings,there really were none in the field,or they were so insignificant as to call for no particular discussion or description. That theory has been entirely disproven by the studies of present day scholars,and shown to be not only incorrect but also obviously inadequate to account for the fierce opposition of nearly three centuries,through which Christianity fought its way to religious supremacy in the Empire.

Adequate and honest investigation along historical lines,reveals the fact that spite of the decadence of the Roman and most of the Greek state religions,undermined as they had been by the intellectual philosophy of Greek thinkers,when the Christian missionaries essayed the task of evangelising the peoples making up the Roman empire,they found their strongest,most subtle,and most persistent opposition,not in the cult of Emperor-worship.although that was the immediate instrument in their persecution by Roman authorities; but rather in the active and well-organized religious cults of that period,mostly,like Christianity itself,Oriental in origin and teaching. How these had entered into the heritage of the old Roman, and to some extent,Greek religions,forms one of the most interesting and important developments of those centuries which provided through these radical religious changes,in conjunction with geographical,political and social upheavals,that very "Pleroma" of preparation for the Gospel mentioned by Paul in his Galatian letter.

It is of the highest importance,therefore,to be acquainted with the rise and spread of these successors to the state religions and more especially of those of them designated "mystery cults",as thus we become cognisant of the religious environment as well as the able rivals of early Christianity in its progress towards the religious conquest of the empire.

The causes which contributed to the downfall of the occidental deities and faiths which were popular in the early days of Greece and Rome may be roughly classified under two heads,- Political and Philosophical. The unification of Macedonia and Greece and the conquest of Asia as carried out by Philip and his greater son, Alexander, brought in their train a veritable revolution in national and religious concepts. While Alexander's rapid conquest of the Asiatic empire and neighboring peoples has been dilated upon almost ad nauseam,his really more unique attempt -not by any means an unsuccessful one- to unify Asia and Europe,has been to a large extent made light of as but an exhibition of a genius seeking to accomplish the impossible or spectacular. Yet in this effort rests his greatest fame and claim to real genius,-this amalgamation of East and West- this treatment of the vanquished as fellow-men- in spite of Aristotle's advice to the contrary,-this giving Greek culture its opportunity among other peoples,and by this paving of a way to a larger humanity,whereby the brotherhood of man began to be realized! With national barriers thrown down and racial distinctions disregarded,the Greek exclusiveness and disdain for others was bound to evaporate,and with these radical

changes a revolution in the religious outlook also appeared whereby national or civic deities were either discarded or given a new status and power in harmony with the new political arrangements. Alexander thus inaugurated that comprehensive cosmopolitanism which reached its apogee later under the Roman Empire,for what the Greek conqueror attempted and began in his brief meteoric career the Roman soldier and lawgiver gradually carried into effect step by step,from the city on the Tiber,-east,west,north, south- until the tribes and nations with their particular deities and religious customs,from the pillars of Hercules to the Euphrates,and from the Sahara desert to the Rhine and Danube,found themselves united by one Imperial authority,-all compelled to live together as one family,with old-time distinctions put aside, with their old boundaries forgotten,even their social customs and tribal local religions modified or intermingled by the common submission to the power represented by the Roman legion and the Roman law. Nor was Rome herself any exception; she,too,while thus reaching out after world-wide dominion,was subjected to revolutionary changes,social and religious. The conquest of Greece by Rome,was scarcely more complete,in a military sense,than that of Rome by Greece intellectually,socially and religiously. The simple life of ancient Roman society yielded to the more sensuous ideals of the Grecian culture,Roman and Attic deities were identified,-the Grecian characteristics usually predominant, even as Grecian literature,sculpture and philosophy set the stand-

ards for Roman schools,teachers and artists.

The Roman-Graeco world and society,thus compounded,suffered a similar experience after the subjugation,by the legions of Rome, of those lands of ancient culture in Asia Minor,up to and sometimes beyond the Euphrates,as well as the more peaceful acquisition of Egypt for thus westward doors were thrown open to those Oriental faiths still warmly-even vigorously-flourishing in these seats of the world's oldest religions and culture. For the invasion of those Oriental beliefs the way had,as we have noted already,been prepared by the political changes,whereby local deities and religions had lost their state or national prestige and relationship,and men felt religiously orphaned; for in an empire like that of Rome such deities as were great enough to survive the general wreck of the old past were no longer of that close personal character,possessed when only worshipped within the narrow boundaries of that deity's own state or city. Thus there arose more and more in the hearts of the great multitude, a great hunger for some religious method,system or deity,whereby this personal need,this personal salvation might be obtained.

For this yearning the great state religious functions supplied no satisfaction- they were coldly impersonal. Thus coincident with the spread of Rome's dominion there was a constant increase of religious dissatisfaction with a corresponding readiness to snatch at anything religious which could take the place,in the new environment,of what was being lost. At the same time,largely caused by the conquests of so many rich coun-

tries,there was a growing love of luxury and pleasure,combined with a growing disrespect for the old deities and their religious history. That this was the case with multitudes we know from the testimony of numerous writers of that period;even Virgil, although to him Augustus seemed the usherer in of the golden age,allows us glimpses of that seamy side of Roman life,in harmony with the skepticism and craze for pleasure which appeared so widespread in his day. Indeed,the usual concomitant of religion -superstition- was rampant in those days. Many persons consulted oracles and practiced divination. They believed in demon-possession and cultivated the art of exorcism,-were,in fact,the victims of vast numbers of superstitious fears and practices. This was true not only of the lower classes,but of many others beside,not excluding even the emperors. Suetonius, in his "Lives of the Caesars" gives many illustrations of this fact. Perhaps it was fear of physical harm only which made Augustus flee to the cellar and caused Caligula to hide under his bed whenever a severe thunderstorm came,but it was certainly crass superstition that led Augustus,on account of a dream he once had, to attire himself as a beggar on a certain day of the year and solicit alms in the street.

The principal reason,possibly,for this scepticism,and consequently this grovelling senseless superstition,was the spread of Greek philosophy,-surely a sweet revenge for the Greek upon his arrogant conqueror! While the earlier Greek teachers were

more or less religious,yet they were sensitive to the folly of accepting the silly and degrading tales which form so large a part of their religious history,and their voices and writings,while not Atheistic,could scarcely be called friendly to the deities of Olympus. That this was sensed by the less intelligent and more religious populace is seen in the death of Socrates - a victim of religious bigotry- because he dared ask questions which seemed disrespectful to the popular gods of the state religion! But later schools of philosophy, by their emphasis on man's inner self,e.g., Aristotle on the value of the individual, threw doubt upon the value of the external rites and offerings to deities who,too often,were less moral than their worshippers! To souls with a strong craving for a nobler life,the stoic cult of philosophy appealed,while to him who craved self-indulgence the Epicurean sophistry was sufficient excuse. Thus in various ways, Philosophy in its searching after God,was a distinctly disintegrating force in the old Roman and Greek religious life and thought, for although able to demonstrate the defects and silly myths of what had passed for religion,and thus broke down the popular religious faith,in its own positive content Philosophy seemed able to satisfy a meagre if distinguished few,leaving the mass of the people "as sheep without a shepherd". Herein lay the call and opportunity of the Oriental cults,with their more human and also more divine taaching appealing to one and all to come"and work out their own (personal) salvation with fear and trembling".

The thoroughness of Rome's conquest of the West is one of the world's historical wonders. Not only did she vanquish the tribes of Spain,Gaul,part of Germany and Britain by force of arms, but also through her splendid organization and persistent propaganda,socially and religiously. The West of Europe became thoroughly latinized. This is also true,to a large extent,of the Roman Province of Africa,where we find the old Phoenician-Carthaginian deities,Baal and Eshmoun reappearing under the Roman civilization as Saturn and Esculapius.

But the history of Rome's relations with the Orient,its customs and faiths,presents the other and equally surprising side of world relationships,wherein the conquered vanquish the conqueror. We have already noted how Greece,robbed of her national independence in battle with the Roman legions,possessed herself of the Roman mind and Pantheon; how,later,in Rome's progress eastward,the Graeco-Roman Empire opens the door whereby Asia Minor,Syria,Palestine,and Egypt are enabled to inject into the empire's religious body-politic,the sedatives of the cults of Magna Mater,Isis and Serapis,Judaism and later of Methraism, this invasion resulting as earlier,in the case of the Greeks, in a victory of the East over the West! This was not accomplished as a matter of exchange,for with the exception of Emperor worship,an eastern conception itself,the Occident furnished but little religious novelty or stimulus to the Orient. Indeed,as we have seen above,it was the lack of religious satisfaction in Western lands that drew the Oriental currents in that

direction. The demand for some "personal" salvation was unheard by the state religions of Italy and the west,as well as of part of Greece; hence the cry in those pre-Christian days,as later,- "Come over and help us". In Greece,however,in the hour of test for the state religions,when most of them proved inadequate and worthless amid the new conditions of a cosmopolitan humanity,we find some exceptions to this rule of weakness in the strong vitality and continued popularity,even with the more philosophic class,of the Grecian Mystery Religions,of which the Eleusinian is the most notable example and its virility and success in holding its high place down to the fourth century of our era, as we shall see in our later discussion,arose from its possession of those very elements distinguishing the Oriental Mystery Cults,those elements which at least attempted to minister to the widespread desire for a personal salvation here and felicity after death.

The attraction of the teachings and rites of these Asiatic cults must have been overwhelming,otherwise it would have been impossible to gain the adherence of multitudes who in their Greek or Roman pride of race,despised the Oriental,both as effeminate and unwarlike. What then are some of the ingredients of this attraction,this magnetic quality which for several centuries held in willing thrall so many myriads of devoted followers in the empire,and even at times,seemed to be heir to supreme religious power within her borders for time indefinite?

According to Cumont,the Superiority of the Mystery Cults

over the old Graeco-Roman state religions,may be defined as follows: These cults furnished greater satisfaction (1) To the Senses and passions or emotions, (2) To the Inteliigence and, finally (3) To the Conscience. In making an appeal to the Senses those religions followed a line of propaganda in which the Roman religion offered,-in fact "scorned" to offer- no competition. Rome's religion was political,not personal; dignified,not emotional,with a liturgy reminding one of the ancient civil law in the minuteness of its prescriptions. The Jew is noted for his respect towards a religious code and formulas of the past,but in spite of their dry and minute practices the Pharisaic legislation (or,rather,"legalism") stirred the heart more strongly than Roman formalism.

In contrast to the Roman religion,that of the Oriental type, as seen in the Mystery Cults of Magna Mater,Isis-Serapis and Mithraism,was non-political,hence without any state authority. Isis-Serapis had such authority only in the Ptolemaic domains,but might be said to specialize in modes of appeal to the senses. Men were attracted first by the disturbing seductiveness of their mysteries where terror and hope were evoked in turn and then charmed by the pomp of festivities and the magnificence of their processions. Above all,those religions taught men how to reach that blissful state in which the soul was freed from the tyranny of the body and of suffering,and lost itself in ecstatic raptures. Even the gods with whom they thought themselves united in these mystic outbursts were more human,-although too sensual sometimes

as well- than those of the Occident. The latter rejoiced in the serenity of Olympian bliss,they were Immortals,while the Oriental divinities,on the contrary,suffered and died to revive again. Thus the devotees were invited to join in the frantic sorrow for the death of an Osiris,Attis or Adonis; also in the rapture of joy on the return of those gods from death. Or else they joined in the passion of Mithra,condemned to create the world in suffering, Thus these Oriental faiths satisfied the thirst for religious emotion which the Roman religion,coldly austere,could not quench.

At the same time they satisfied the intellect more fully. In early Greece and later in Rome,philosophy,with its lofty ideas of man,became totally independent of,sometimes hostile to, generally somewhat contemptuous of,the religious beliefs held by the state and practiced by the people. This divorce of reason and religion led to atrophy and decay in the latter which remained unchanged and unprogressive,- a mass of barbaric beliefs and childish practices inherited from a primitive past. Thus Cumont says of Greece, "Never did a people of advanced culture have a more infantile religion". In the Oriental religions,by way of contrast,learning was the handmaid of religion. The temples were also the universities; hence those religions produced such learned men as Berosus of Babylon and Manetho of Heliopolis,priestly students and historians,worthy representatives of many in their profession. It is true that this union between Religion and Learning proved highly detrimental to the latter,the malignity of the alliance being too well proven by the prevalence and power of Magic and

Astrology as important phases of those Oriental religions. Nevertheless, this flavor of learning invested those religions with a power and attractiveness, in the eyes of the Greeks, never possessed by their own religions! Had Greek philosophy been aggressively progressive and fearlessly led, the Oriental pretensions would probably never have attained such popularity in the early empire, a popularity in some aspects lasting down thr/ough mediaeval times, but while capable of disintegrating old beliefs, the philosophy of those days never obtained such general respect and reverence from the public as to reach a leadership fit to cope with the high claims and seductive proactices of its competitors in Oriental religious philosophy, In fact, so far from doing so, philosophy itself in the Neo-Platonic form yielded to the mystic currents and became a "theurgy".

The power to satisfy the Conscience was, however, the largest factor in advancing the popularity of the Oriental cults. With the rise of individualism among the peoples of the Empire, there came also a corresponding growth in the feeling of individual responsibility. The State had become so large, so utterly impersonal that the individual no longer felt safe under its aegis from the Nemesis arising out of one's own life and conduct. Hence the stronger and more pathetic yearning for a religious guarantee or guarantor of personal salvation. For this thirst in the hearts of the discouraged masses the old Roman deities and religious rites had nothing to offer, philosophy in its Stoic or Epicurean aspects either called to an impossible altitude of self-control, or advised forgetfulness of such dreams and hopes by giving free

rein to reckless indulgence in material pleasures. On the other hand,the Mystery Cults professed to meet and satisfy this religious craving of the troubled hearts by their rites of purification by their mysterious revelations in secret,by communion with a god,by magic formulae or ascetic performances. The unhappy and fearful individual was called to hope once more,to face death itself cheerfully; for did not Persephone,Demeter,Cybele, Attis,Isis-Serapis,or the radiant god Mithra.promise their followers a safe guidance through the dark realms of death,up to homes of light and joy,-thus providing in this life,through ritual service and discipline,that help and strength requisite to win the victor's crown. We need not,then,marvel at the growing strength,the popularity,the rapid spread of the "Mysteries" both before and after the advent of Christianity,nor need we be surprosed that,when Christian apostles and evangelists entered on their wider campaign outside Judaea,these Mystery Cults should be found its greatest rivals and most dangerous opponents. Already the fame and lure of Eleusis had gone far beyond the borders of the old Grecian lands,Magna Mater from the highlands of Anatolia and Isis-Serapis from Hellenized Egypt were well entrenched in the strategic centers around the Mediterranean,at least as far west as Italy,while Mithraism was but waiting for a brief season until Vespasian should sweep away the barriers still intervening between the "Invincible God" and the Western Conquest.

These then were the Forerunners and Rivals of the Christian Faith in the Roman Empire,and not until well on into the Fourth Century of our era was victory assured to our fathers in the faith,

hence no study can be more interesting or more vital,from the viewpoint of origins,than to enquire as to the parallel truths which ran through all of these contemporaneous yet conflicting religions,as to what practices or religious rites are common to all,as to what exchanges were made,from the one to the other during the long struggle; in a word,to what extent is Christianity indebted to these other religious systems for help in preparing the world-mind to more easily comprehend and receive the Gospel message,also in how great a degree,if any,has Christianity borrowed from these unwilling helpers,or been,consciously or unwittingly,through their opposition or mere contiguity,compelled to shape her policies and adjust her emphases?

Naturally these questions demand a brief but careful outline study of the history and content of the principal Mystery Cults which for over two centuries strove,all over the Roman Empire,to stem tha/t tide of Christian Victory,which finally in the time of Constantine and his immediate successors swept "over the top",~~and~~ leaving for her competitors,outwardly at least,nothing but wreckage,scarcely enough to recall their teachings or pretensions. It may be,however,that their true memorial lies not outside of but in the Christian Church,in her doctrine, rites and organization,and it is now our object to find out as far as possible,the mode of their destruction and disappearance and,by way of comparison,to judge whether or not that mode may not have been Absorption rather than sheer Annihilation.

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Studies in the Mystery Cults

I. The Eleusinian Mysteries

A study of all the varieties of Mystery Cults,however interesting and profitable it might be,is entirely impossible in so limited a discussion as this must be. So from the numerous family of Mystery Religious Cults,Greek and Oriental,we will limit our study to that of the four principal exhibits,in the assurance that in these are found sufficiently startling resemblances,similar lines of thought,and likely contributions to early Christianity to justify the title of this thesis. Of these four Mystery Religions,viz,- the Eleusinian,Magna Mater, Isis-Serapis,and Mithraism,we shall now consider that one which of this group is not Oriental either in origin or scope,but of Grecian parentage -as far as is absolutely known,and which makes the little Attic city of Eleusis its only permanent home. In conjunction with and because of these characteristics,we shall find certain features which allow us to distinguish it still more definitely as the "Esthetic" Mystery Cult.

Of the origins of this religions cult,reaching back to a time before the seventh century B.C.,nothing positively is known and as our study has to do with its aspects while preparing the way for and then competing with Christianity,to delve into the mists of its primitive past would be aside from our object. The Homeric Hymn to Demeter,usually dated in the seventh century,B.C.,introduces us to these mysteries as already established

in Eleusis,a small city some fourteen miles northwest of Athens,and already enjoying a great reputation among the Greeks of that early period. It is probable that in their earliest form these mysteries consisted of certain religious ceremonies connected with agriculture -based on the nature drama of the dead grain springing to life in the spring time. The grain and the earth were worshipped as the corn Mother,Demeter,to whom,by a development natural in such religions,was given a daughter,Kore or Persephone. Around the latter had grown up the story of her abduction by Pluto,the subsequent sorrow of Demeter,her refusal to fructify the earth until her daughter was restored at least for part of the year,and then as a requital for kindness shown her there in sorrow,Demeter ordered the erection of a temple to her worship at Eleusis,where she might bless the initiated with such knowledge as would make the coming of death a boon rather than a curse. This was to come about through their special intimate friendship with the mother and daughter - the dark god also in the dim background.

In this we see a strong reaction against the gloomy fate of mortals -good and bad alike- painted by Homer himself,where a picture of the underworld of spirits is drawn in such darkly tinted colors,of a monotonous and vapid existence in a land of ~~dark~~ atmospheric semi-darkness,as to entirely justify the plaint of kingly Achilles,when he declares his preference for a slave's existence on earth rather than this dolorous and shadowy rule in Hades! From such a fate the mystery cult of Eleusis professes to save,providing for its devotee,not a sombre underworld,

merely free from Tartaric torments but a home of joy and delight in a heaven beyond. This consummation was brought about not so much by sacrifice or knowledge as through scenes portraying these truths,acted before the initiate in the secret enclosure of the temple in Eleusis - for thus the Homeric Hymn-

> "Blessed is he among mortals
> who has seen those things.
> But he who is uninitiated
> and has no part in the
> sacred rites has not an equal
> part in the dark gloom below."

Other distinguished writers of those days testify freely to the supreme value of these rites,e.g.,Pindar,Sophocles and the "divine" Plato,who declares that these mysteries teach that the uninitiated will lie in filth in Hades,while one cleansed through initiation will dwell happily with the gods. Cicero writes of them in similar terms.

> "Nothing better than the mysteries
> by which we are formed and moulded
> from a rude and savage life into humanity,
> and indeed in the mysteries we perceive the real principles of life and
> learn not only to live happily but
> to die with a fairer hope."

It is now necessary to describe briefly the outward forms of the cult and glimpses of the inner circle of mysterious doings and teachings -unfortunately but little is really known of these-- in order to a fuller understanding of the truths and ceremonies brought by this cult to the contest with and the enlargement of the early Christian faith and practice.

Each year there were two celebrations of the Mysteries,one

at Agrae,a suburb of Athens,in the month of February(Anthisterion) participation in this being a necessary preliminary to taking a part in the greater celebration at Eleusis in the month of September (Boedromion). The greater celebration lasted several days (eight or nine),the exercises taking place partly at Athens and,in these more important aspects,partly in the sacred precincts of Demeter's temple at Eleusis. The order of these exercises was as follows: (1) A march from Athens to Eleusis,by the "ephebor",to bring the holy things -perhaps small images of the goddess- to the Eleusinion in the capital city; (2) The assembly of participants gathered in front of the painted porch in Athens to hear the proclamation of the hierophant,charging all unclean persons and foreigners to withdraw,and enjoining secrecy on all who were to take part in the festival. (This was less strict than the Samothracian confessional,here evidently only intended to exclude the "notorious"). (3) A Special rite of purification,lustration in sea water and possibly sprinkling with the blood of a pig -a common cathartic medicine. (4) A holiday and sacrificial season in Athens. (5) The great procession from Athens to Eleusis,on the 19th of the month bearing the image of Iacchus"the fair young god" generally arriving in Eleusis long after sunset on account of many halts at the different shrines along the fourteen mile sacred way. On this journey saffron bands as amulets were worn and the ceremonious reviling of the "Mystae" by the spectators,at the bridge

over the Cephissus answered the same purpose of averting the evil eye. On that night,or the following,the memory of Demeter's search for her daughter was celebrated by a torch-lit procession along the shore. (6) The consummation of the festival was the celebration in the great hall,where some three-thousand persons might be seated on all sides,and where two grades of representations were made,- one for the new "mystae",the other for the more expert "epoptai". Just what these representations set forth is not known with any certainty; we must rather conjecture in general the nature of the ceremonies. They consisted of "things done","dromena", and"things said","legomena",-the former probably referring to some mystery-play or tableaux representing the rape and restoration of Kore, the mourning of Demeter,(the birth of the child Iacchus?), and so forth. Clement of Alexandria says

> "Deo and Kore became persons in a mystic drama and Eleusis with its torch-bearer celebrates the wandering,the abduction and the sorrow".

So here we see in some form,(nothing elaborate,as the structure lacked extensive facilities)a Passion Play presented before the eyes of this select company. Sacred objects were also,evidently,exhibited and handled by the privileged spectators; perhaps these were very ancient and specially sacred images of the deities,and perhaps the cut corn-stalk,"that great and marvelous mystery of perfect revelation" according to Hippolytus, who,however,may be mixing the Eleusinian and Phrygian rituals, hence cannot be trusted as a sure guide in these matters. And

even were the corn-stalk shown on this occasion,need we therefore hold with Jevons and Lenormant that it was worshipped by the Eleusinians or revered by them as a "clan-totem"? There is really no trace of such worship or totemism either here or elsewhere in Greece.

The formula given us by Clement of Alexandria,

> "I fasted,I drank the potion,I took
> it from the chest,and having tasted
> I put it away in the basket,and
> from the basket into the chest"

suggests something in the nature of a communion or sacrament in which the initiate joins the goddess in this act of eating and drinking,partly in her memory,partly to effect or cause them to feel a closer union with her. This is probably as far as the act carried the minds of the "mystae" for there is no evidence that in the sacramental act they imagined themselves as partaking of their deity,nor that the sacrament was,at all,the pivot of the whole mystery!

There was also the "Hieros Logos",probably an accompanying exposition of the exhibition of the "holy things" given by the hierophant as chief spokesman"who poured forth winning utterances,and whose voice the catechumen ardently desired to hear",-yet as to the message delivered we have no details. His chief theme was probably the exposition of the meaning and value of those "holy things" probably colored by the current philosophic speculation of his day. Doubtless he dwelt much and eloquently on the hopes and proofs of that glorious life beyond the grave-(there was no need to prove the existence after

"Verily glorious is that mystery
vouchsafed by the blessed gods,
for death is no ill for mortals,but
rather a good."

A question of importance now arises as to the extent,if any,to which the Eleusinian Mysteries have been syncretised with the teachings and practices of the Dionysiac-Orphic cult. This question is naturally suggested by the appearance of Iacchus,identified with Dionysus by Sophocles and Aristophanes, in the procession from Athens to Eleusis on the 19th-20th of Boedromion. Miss Harrison makes this claim

"That all,or nearly all,their(the
Eleusinian) spiritual significance
was due to elements borrowed from the
cult of Dionysus",

while Foucart and others hold that many of the beliefs and practices known under the names of Dionysus,Sabazios,Zagreus, were at different times,in its early history,engrafted upon the primitive Eleusinian beliefs and rites. But the evidence of this reconstruction,rather than syncretism,are judged entirely insufficient by many others,e.g.,Case and Moore, While the articles in the Encyclopedia Brittanica and Hastings Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics take opposite sides on the question. This radical difference of opinion among the learned doctors suggests therefore a middle course,-namely that while there probably was some absorption of Dionysiac-Orphic elements into the more public ceremonies,and probably an additional significance read into the esoteric rites as well,-yet Iacchus-Dionysus,"the fair young god" only came to Eleusis

as a visitor,-perhaps representing the close relationship of Athens to the smaller city; but all down the centuries of its existence and influence the stately earth-goddess and her daughter remain paramount and supreme at Eleusis until their temple was finally destroyed by the Goth-Alaric-near the end of the fourth century A.D.

As a state cult of Attica(or Athens),the rites of Eleusis could not be readily established elsewhere,and although similar religious cult practices are known to have existed at various other points,-e.g. Andania in the Peloponnesus,yet Eleusis never had a real equal or rival,-even those of Samothrace being secondary. The fame of Eleusis was so great for centuries that persons from distant provinces of the Empire gladly undertook the long journeys in order to share in the virtue of the secret and potent fellowship of the Mother and Maid. For long before the Christian era the Mysteries of Eleusis were thrown open to others than Athenians,-to all Greek speaking peoples,Roman citizens,and women. Some add, "slaves as well",but in any case Eleusis became a centre of religious democracy,-not so much missionary as magnetic.

That these Mysteries of Eleusis preached directly a lofty morality is not evident. Yet that a distinction was made is seen in such a fact as that while Augustus was initiated into and held them in high honor,Nero,later,appears to have feared to present himself as a candidate. True the cynic, Diogenes,sneered at their claims of blessing some very ordinary wretches with a joyous immortality,-when such an one as the

hero statesman,Epaminondas,"because uninitiated must wallow in the mire"! But Aristophanes claims for the Mysteries a strong moral uplift as also Andocides. In the second century,B.C.,the Mysteries are credited with maintaining "that the greatest of human blessings is fellowship and trust",the Stoic Epictetus inculcates reverence for Eleusinian mysteries "which were appointed for the instruction and correction of life".

In contrast with Christianity which called sinners to make them better or Moral,Celsus affirms that other Mystery cults other than Christianity received only those clean of hand and pure of soul,who had lived well and justly. So we may fairly assume that this Mystery Cult of Eleusis did its share in helping to raise the moral standards of every-day life.

The Eleusinian Mysteries possessed,as a religious cult, an hereditary priesthood drawn from two sacred families,the Eumolpidae and the Ceryces. The principal officials were the hierophant,or chief priest,the dadouchos,or torch-bearer,the altar-priest,and the sacred herald. Besides these four,this state religion had a considerable number of lesser priests and priestesses,heralds and secular officers,-hence a strongly organized,well developed,powerful hierarchy held sway in this ancient cult. This survey shows us that with such a wide-spread influence over the Greek world Christianity must have, at an early period in its initial stage,come into contact with and met the opposition of this cult,more especially in such Greek centres as Athens and Corinth. Possibly Paul when

speaking on Mars Hill may have had this Mystery cult in mind when he spoke of men feeling after God

"Though He is not far from each one of us"

for in this Mystery Religion there are surely many indications of that reaching out after God, after a salvation through knowledge of God by means of a Savior. For what was the work of Demeter-Kore but that of a Savior to save from the gloom and punishment of the hereafter? What did those water and blood purifications signify but a need of purity -physical at first, but later moral and spiritual! What did the Mystery faith minister to but the personal individual desire for personal salvation -through personal friendship and union with the Savior deity? Did not this following, Mystae and Epoptai, king and commoner, bond and free, signify and symbolise the democracy of salvation? All alike must pass through the same process by the same path to the same objective. And in Demeter's devotees we certainly note that belief in "election" - they alone can hope for salvation, who had visions of things to come, of a future of heavenly joy and unending bliss. Thus here we find elements in teaching, in eschatology, in salvation, in organization, which certainly cry out their similarity to much in the Christian system of those early days and, because of its resemblance to the new faith, this old state cult, with its old-time priestly caste of a philosophic character, was among the last to disappear, the semi-barbarian heel of Alaric being the final instrument of its destruction.

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II. Magna Mater

The Mystery Cult of Eleusis was practically Grecian in origin and "esthetic" in character. In Magna Mater we find a cult Oriental-Phrygian in Origin and strikingly "orgiastic" in character. But this religion of the Great Mother was strongly missionary and,unlike that of Eleusis, pushed out in any direction when the way was opened.

The mythological ancestry of Magna Mater reaches far back into the dim millenia B.C. There was such a Mother of the gods depicted in the Minoan worship at Knossos in Crete. Says Farnell:

> It is the generally accepted opinion, based on very strong evidence,that the Cretan Rhea and the Phrygian Cybele are one and the same goddess of the earlier Anatolian populations that the incoming European Phrygo-Thracians found in Asia Minor,-- a goddess the same in character with her whom the Hellenes found in Crete, "Mater Kubele"- a goddess of the mountains also,and to her,as to her Cretan counterpart the lion was specially consecrated. A goddess of fertility and life she was also a goddess of death,closely associated with the ritual of the tomb. Moreover,her worship was in the highest degree orgiastic, agreeing also with the Cretan in the strong attraction it seems to have possessed for the belief in the death and resurrection of the divinity. "Stone" worship was prominent in the Phrygian as in the Cretan cult,and may explain the curious Phrygian legend that Cybele came forth from a rock,located near her future capital Pessinus. And as we may believe that Rhea and Cybele were merely a double growth from the same root,so when Phrygian

> influence had permeated the cities of the Asiatic Greeks,the cult names are blended indistinguishably by the poets."

Elsewhere we learn that the Great Mother appears historically in three aspects,(1) The Cretan Rhea,mentioned by Homer and Hesiod; (2) The Phrygian goddess associated with Attis,and (3) The Greek Great Mother,the original and un-Asiatic concept of her held by the Phrygians before their emigration to Asia,and which gradually penetrated into Central and Southern Greece. From Dr.Evans' work in Crete it would appear,however,as Farnell asserts above that the first two aspects are really one,while as to the third aspect,viz,the Great Greek Mother,it would seem from the fact that the really ancient shrines of Magna Mater in Greece are found in centres where Cretan influence was strongly felt, e.g. Akriai in South Laconia,at Opympia,and in Attica and Boeotia,in all of which abundant evidence of Cretan influence has been found-that probably all the Magna Mater cult,apart from local developments,is of very ancient lineage indeed and practically from one stem -an Anatolian Nature Myth.

But it may be said,here,as a noteworthy fact,that this worship in its original form never succeeded in taking hold of the Greek mind or heart. The violent and orgiastic character of the later Phrygian invasion,about the 6th and 5th centuries B.C.shocked and repelled the tempered sanity of the artistic Hellenic spirit which had already tamed the Dionysiac cult as well as the earlier intrusions of the "Great Mother"

from Crete.

On this account our study of this cult must leave to one side as a negligible quantity its history in Greece,because of the reconstruction there forced on it,and find in its rather unique progress and expansion westward the best illustration of its power and religious contribution in comparison with Christianity,starting with its arrival in Rome 204 B.C.

Before doing so,however, it will be necessary,first,to offer some sort of sketch of Cybele's cult partner,and lover, Attis. Symbolizing as they do the Productive Fertility of the Earth and its fruitage,we find that ~~while~~ the existence and experience of Attis,as of Kore,in our last study,are brief and rather shadowy,for the legend of his violent death is so varied as to the causes of his decease as to show that this at first did not appeal to those old-time peoples as of much importance. Thus a collection of explanations were allowed to grow up giving rather variety than unity in the explanation of the tragedy; yet,upon this varied basis,the main teachings and practices of the cult are founded.

The story of Attis is as follows. He was a lovely youth,the son of a virgin ,-- mother,possibly,of Cybele herself,with whom the goddess fell deeply in love. While beloved of the goddess he came to a violent end,either by the tusks of a wild boar,like Adonis,his Syrian counterpart, or;in a frenzy of despair caused by the death of his own

chosen love,a beautiful nymph,at the hand of the jealous goddess;the youth unmanned himself at the foot of a pine tree and so died.— This latter theory of the manner of his death being that held in Pessinus,the famous seat of the cult,-a rude and savage belief that plainly belongs to a barbarian antiquity. Apparently,however,his death was not absolute;the sorrow and supplications of the bereaved goddess were able to move the higher powers to grant some exceptions- a little life was allowed to preserve the body from decay,and later on to raise it for a time into a resurrection life! Others say that he was transformed into a pine tree,-hence the importance of the pine in the cult's great festivities. In any case,our discussion of the great spring festival will show that around this fair but short-lived lover of Cybele,centres the rites and teachings on which the devotees feed their hopes of immortality. As to the different theories as to the manner of his death,Frazer points out that both serve a purpose in explaining well-known habits or attitudes in the cult,e.g. his death through the attack of a wild boar would explain why his worshippers,-especially the peoples of Pessinus,abstained from eating swine's flesh,while the other theory of his death by self-mutilation is clearly an attempt to account for the self-mutilation of Cybele's priests,who regularly castrated themselves on entering the service of the goddess!

Our study has to do,however,not so much with the dim Anatolian or Phrygian period,when the goddess was the mountain deity,worshipped amid those wilds,by half crazed Corybantes who thus sought to share her grief for the beloved youth; but rather with the growth and expansion of the cult amid the very different environment of Rome and her Western provinces.

To the capitol city,Rome,Magna Mater was summoned by what Cumont calls a mere chance circumstance. The war with Carthage still dragged on. Hannibal was still in Italy and many unusual natural occurrences had stirred the fears of the people. On being consulted the Sybl announced that victory whould be theirs could the Great Mother of Ida be brought to Rome! King Attalus of Pergamus was a friend of the republic and on hearing of this need presented the Roman ambassadors with the blackstone or aerolite,supposed to be the abode of the goddess,which he himself had but recently removed from Pessinus to Pergamus,his capital. This stone was received with great honor at Ostia,taken charge of by Rome's most esteemed citizen,carried by Rome's most honored matrons and installed on the Palatine with much ceremony,April 20th, 204 B.C. Fortunately for the reputation of the Sybl and Magna Mater,the fortunes of war speedily favored Rome. Hannibal was forced to leave Italy and go to the rescue of his capital city,Carthage,now threatened by Scipio,by whom he was later completely defeated at Zama,and the long struggle ended in favor of the European power. Naturally this success,

following her arrival so quickly,greatly enhanced the reputation and honor of the new goddess; a temple in her honor was erected by the senate on the Palatine hill,while annual festivities,the Ludi-Megalensis,commemorated the arrival of the goddess and the dedication of her temple. It would seem that after the Roman Senate had become better acquainted with the deity imposed upon it by the Oracle,then that august body,shocked by the crude superstition of the new cult,proceeded to seal up,or,in modern speech,to "quarantine" their new ally,so that for a full century and more her's was an isolated honor. While the only Oriental cult with a legal standing,yet it was compelled to import from the east its officials,for no Roman was permitted to enter the service of Magna Mater,at any time before the middle of the first century, A.D.

The Emperor Claudius is credited with the grant of larger freedom and recognition to the goddess of Pessinus,whereby her cult became a popular fad of the time and her ranks began to be recruited from Roman citizenship and even noble families. It is a clear evidence of the religious dissatisfaction of those days that Roman dignity and love of order could not only tolerate but patronize such an organization,with its painted unsexed priests and its noisy clamor of cymbals, tambourines,flutes and horns,united to a crass worship of a "black rock"! The religious bankruptcy of the old religions

of home had failed so completely in this hour,that the people were willing to accept even a Magna Mater,because underneath her nauseating externals there existed the teaching of a hope of immortality through personal union with this deity!

The true nature of the cult was revealed to the Romans in the various acts of the great spring festival,at the time of the Spring Equinox,and a brief description of this festival or celebration gives one the key to that general theme and theology which underlay the savage orgiastic exercises of Magna Mater. The various acts of this grand mystic drama are tolerably well known. The prelude was a procession of cannophori,or reed bearers,on the 15th of the month; this probably commemorated Cybele's discovery of Attis,who,legend says was as a child exposed on the banks of the Phrygian river Sangarius. The ceremonies proper began on the Equinox. The Dendrophori,or tree-bearers,felled a pine and transported it to the Palatine into the sanctuary of Cybele. This pine trunk was swathed like a corpse with woolen bands and decked with violets,for violets were said to have sprung from the blood of Attis,as roses and anemones from that of Adonis; also the effigy of a youth,doubtless Attis himself,was tied to the middle of the trunk. The next day was one of sadness and abstinence,on which the believers fasted and mourned the defunct god. The 24th of the month was known by the significant name of "Sanguis" in the calendars,and we know that it was the celebration of the funeral of Attis,whose "manes",like

those of any mortal were appeased by means of libations of blood. The Archigallus or high priest drew blood from his arms and presented it as an offering. Nor was he alone in making this bloody sacrifice. Stirred by the wild barbaric music of clashing cymbals,rumbling drums,droning horns and screaming flutes,the inferior clergy whirled about in the dance until, rapt into a frenzy of excitement,and insensible to pain,they gashed their bodies with potsherds or slashed them with knives, in order to bespatter the altar and sacred tree with their flowing blood. The ghastly rite probably formed part of the mourning for the dead deity and may have been intended to strengthen him for resurrection.

Further we may conjecture,though we are not told it expressly,that it was on this day of blood,and for the same purpose, that the novices sacrificed their virility. Wrought up to the highest pitch of excitement they dashed the severed portions of themselves against the image of the cruel goddess, whence they were taken,reverently wrapped up and buried in the earth,or in the chambers sacred to Cybele,to assist in recalling Attis to life and in hastening the general resurrection of nature. When the tumult of emotion had subsided,the irrevocable sacrifice must often have been followed by passionate sorrow and life-long regret. Indeed,such a revulsion is powerfully depicted by Catullus in a celebrated poem.

The day of blood was succeeded by a mysterious vigil, during which the mystic,as a new Attis,was supposed to be united with the great goddess. On March 25th sorrow and despair

were suddenly changed into joy and triumph,-the Hilaria was come. With the arrival of Spring Attis had awakened from his sleep of death and the joy created by his resurrection burst out in wild merry-making,wanton masquerades,and luxurious banquets. The resurrection of the god was hailed by his disciples as a promise that they,too,would issue triumphantly from the grave. The next day was given over to a much-needed rest,and on the 27th,the Roman festival closed with a procession to the brook,Almo,whither the silver image of the goddess,with its face of jagged blackstone,was drawn on an ox-cart,to the sound of music amid scenes of popular joy and mirth. At the brook the wagon,oxen,image and other sacred objects were washed with the flowing water,and then the procession returned to the Palatine along a path strewn with fresh spring flowers.

Such,then,was the great spring solemnization of the death and resurrection of Attis,but besides these public rites,his worship is known to have comprised certain secret or mystic ceremonies,aiming at bringing the disciple,and especially the novice,into closer communion with his god. Two are of special importance and significance in our comparative study,-the sacramental meal and the baptism of blood,or the Taurobolium. The sacramental meal was preceded by a fast which,along with its part in the mourning for Attis,may have been designed to prepare the body of the recipient for the reception of the blessed sacrament,which seems to have been food and drink

served from the drum and cymbal,instruments which figure prominently in the thrilling orchestra of Attis. The blood baptism was much more spectacular,as well as savagely grewsome. The devotee,crowned with gold and wreathed with fillets,descended into a pit,the mouth of which was covered with a wooden grating. A bull,or ram for a criobolium, adorned with flowers,its forehead glittering with gold-leaf, was then driven on to the grating and there stabbed to death with a consecrated spear. Under the hot reeking torrents of blood pouring through the apertures the worshipper is drenched with crimson,receiving it with such eagerness as to even drink of it,while laving face and breast freely; and then emerging from this pit of gory baptism he is adorned by his fellows as one born to eternal life "in aeternum renatus",washed from his sins in the blood. For some time after,this fiction of a new birth was maintained by dieting him on milk,like a new-born babe! This regeneration of the worshipper took place at the same time as the regeneration of his god,the Spring Equinox. Such was the "Taurobolium", as practised especially at the sanctuary of the goddess on the Vatican hill,as inscriptions discovered there in the 17th century testify,and from inscriptions found in Gaul and Germany we learn that provincial sanctuaries modelled their ritual after that of Rome. Apparently,however,this grewsome rite did not enter the worhsip in the west until in the early part of the second century,A.D.,the first mention

of it dating from 134 A.D. Also,it is generally thought that it was borrowed from another Asia Minor goddess,more savage even than Cybele,-known under the name ofAnaitis.

This,in itself,is important as throwing light on the syncritistic attitude of Magna Mater. Being a state religion in Rome from the time of the arrival there,it was,naturally, much sought after as a friend by other stranger faiths,seeking a lodgement in the capital city. Thus it came about that for three centuries the temples of Magna Mater and the cave sanctuaries of Mithra are found closely associated in hundreds of centres in the Empire,thus uniting,or at least allying a high morality and austerity with the most emotional of the Mysteries. Cybele's consort Attis,is also found to be a variable deity. The shepherd youth of the early period is later addressed as the Sun-god,or as Men-Tyrannus,a lunar god of Asia Minor. Stranger still,he is addressed in one Roman inscription as "Hupsistos" -the "Supreme",a title that Cumont considers may suggest the impact of Jewish Monotheism upon the cult in Asia minor where important Jewish colonies existed. Indeed,as the Empire brought these competing cults together,with Christianity as the rival of all,we find not only Syncretism occurring,but also many of the more savage primeval traits are refined and spiritualized under the friendly suggestion of Neo-Platonism, as well as through the influence of a purer,loftier,competing religion. Thus the Taurobolium rite lost its old-time meaning of giving new physical power and came to mean almost entirely

re-birth,because it was about their soul's salvation that men came,in those changing days,to think more and more. For six hundred years this cult occupied a place in Roman life and religion and from the middle of the first century A.D. its spread over the Empire,in company with Mithra was astonishingly great. In Greece,as we have noted,Magna Mater made but small impression, and then only in a modified form,but in Asia Minor her following was strong in those provinces where the Gospel made its early Gentile conquests,-Galatia,Cilicia,Cappadocia and Asia, with Pontus beyond;for here,under the name "Ma",her fame was known all over the peninsula,and her relations with Mithra and Anaitès of Asia Minor's hinterland were always friendly. But it was in the West,under the Empire,that the Great Mother made her largest conquests,for we hear of her worship in Numidia, Spain,Portugal,Gaul,Germany,and even Dacia keeping closely with the spread of Mithra,her associate for so long. So as in his case,so with Magna Mater,everywhere in the Empire,except where Greek ideals ruled,her religion was given a trial by many.

The cult of Magna Mater had a strong hierarchical organization of high priests and lower grades of eunich priests,who often went forth on missionary work although too often,as writers inform us,the mission was nothing but a search after mere gain and pleasure. The various colleges of the Dendrophori and Cannophori with the orchestral societies,combined with the rank and file of devotees,composed a powerful fraternity fitted to attract socially as well as religiously. It was,

therefore, one of Christianity's most persistent opponents to the end,as it faced her everywhere in the West as well as in Asia Minor. Also its teachings,specially in the later conflict,were fitted to compete with the new faith as they seemed so similar,-so much so that each side charges the other with plagiarism in both teaching and rite.

In this cult one sees glimpses,sometimes emphasis on,such ideas as the Motherhood of God, a Savior born of a Virgin,-its great spring festival corresponding in date to our Easter,with its teachings on blood expiation and resurrection. Even the old Cretan form of Magna Mater,in its honor for the cruciform, offered a striking similarity to Christian honor for the same symbol. Union with Deity was an obvious tenet of Magna Mater as a means of salvation,as were baptism by burial and blood, water baptism also claiming a large place in the ceremonial. But while much of germinal truth subsisted in the system,it was so handicapped by an ancestry and heritage of foul and foolish legends and customs that,before a faith free from these,yet possessed of much more real religious truth,it could not but fall,slain by its own past,yet possibly leaving behind all its best in that faith which proved its conqueror.

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III. Isis-Serapis:

The cult of Isis-Serapis was the offspring of Graeco-Egyptian Syncretism,a union of the Mysteries of Eleusis and the hoary beliefs of the land of the Pharaohs; an eclectic religion born of political expediency,-an adjunct to the rule of the Ptolemies in their new domain. Not the result of natural growth,it was the vigorous and practical application of the blending of different civilizations,a policy initiated so strikingly by Alexander himself.

From the Seventh century B.C.,Greeks had been settled at the mouths of the Nile and by their thousands had served in the armies of the later Egyptian kings,so that the Greecian world was well acquainted with the more obvious features and most prominent deities of the Egyptian religion. Before Herodotus visited Egypt,the identity of the Greek and Egyptian gods was an accepted fact,Isis,Osiris and Horus being considered counterparts of Demeter,Dionysus and Apollo. After the foundation of Alexandria the theory became a missionary propaganda. The first Ptomemy strove to unite the two races under his sway by an eclecticism,of which Alexandria remained a focus until near the end of the Fourth Century,A.D. But while Ptomeny was the moving spirit in this alliance or Syncretism, the mechanicians,who adjusted the differing systems into the Isis-Serapis Cult,are reported as being a learned Egyptian priest,Manetho by name,and Timotheus a scion of the priestly house of Eleusis. The Orphicand Dionysiac mysticism was

leagued with the Isiac worship of Egypt,and the Egyptian legend recast. A new deity,Serapis,whose origin still seems to puzzle scholars,was introduced,and proved for centuries a religious power in the lands of the Roman Empire. Some Egyptologists think that he was of Egyptian origin,a compound of Osiris and Apis -two of the most popular deities among the people of Egypt; others trace him to Babylonia,identifying him with Sarapsi or Ea,the Babylonian god of wisdom,or from Seleucia in Cappadocia,while Tacitus relates that his image was stolen from Sinope on the Black Sea by order of Ptolemy. This was done in obedience to repeated visions,and thus he was installed,no matter where he came from,as the male head of the new circle of deities,-yet old as well as new,his particular variety of divinity being identified with that of Pluto,god of the underworld. Really,Serapis took the place of the old-time consort of Isis,Osiris,and with Horus,renamed Harpocrates,he takes his place in the Graeco-Egyptian Trinity to which Anubis becomes the Hermes-minister.

It was therefore a very different faith from that of old Egypt which won such an empire over cultured minds from Chaeronea to the Thames,for in the Alexandrian-Ptolemaic crucible the Egyptian religion underwent vast transformations, and,later,through the influence of Greek philosophy. Such was the Alexandrian religious contribution to those restless ages,and from the very beginning of ~~the~~ existence,a powerfully missionary cult -disseminated through Greece and Italy,through

embassies,merchants,slaves,until,in spite of ridicule,and even persecution of a virulent type,it attained such prestige among the nations of the Empire as induced even emperors to enroll as members and lavish their wealth on its temples and service. In the syncretism of the Isis-Serapis Cult it is worthy of note that while the old Egyptian creed was largely retained,the liturgical language was Greek; and as a second notable change,there was the replacement of the old hieratic idols by more attractive images,whereby beauty was added to their other attractions,-e.g.,the figures of Isis -a combination of Hera and Aphrodite- and the majestic image of Serapis by Bryaxis in the Alexandrian Serapeum,were masterpieces of Greek sculpture,indeed the Serapis image is called one of the last divine creations of Hellenic genius. Yet these were but external transformations. What of the underlying legends or teachings which formed the heart of the new cult? In this realm of thought,Ptolemy found the myth of Osiris ready at hand as a convenient medium of exchange. We have noted above that long before the era of the Ptomenies,Osiris and Dionysus were considered as one and the same god by many Greeks,and this supposition or opinion is not unreasonable when we note the remarkable resemblance existing between the two legends recounting the experiences of those two deities. Both were of divine parentage; each was set upon by jealous rivals and torn to pieces,-fourteen in both instances-,and this by related divinities,Titans in the one instance,

~~or~~ Tryphon in the other. The wanderings of Isis in search of her dead husband-brother corresponds to the sorrowful travail of Demeter -although the particular object of the search differs here- while the mysterious birth of Horus corresponds, point for point,with that of Dionysus in his second birth as Iacchus. Again,in the fact that each was a god of vegetation and of the underworld at the same time,we see how easy it was for the kingly religious diplomat to offer to subject Greek and Egyptian,a deity heir to the dignities and virtues of the most popular gods of either race,who had suffered alike, been resurrected and given high place in the Pantheon of the unseen world. The very human touch in Osiris' career,in its beginning,when,as King of Egypt,he shows the way to that agricultural eminence which has distinguished his land ever since, is surely one of the real grounds for his extensive and continued popularity with the masses of the people who love a human savior rather than one wholly divine,-one who had been a real friend and benefactor long before he became judge of the lower world and vindicator of righteousness. It was therefore supposed to be a subtly powerful appeal to his sympathy and friendship that every good Egyptian should,after death,have his mortal body treated in a similar manner to that which Isis, Horus and Anubis had administered to that of Osiris before his resurrection. Such bodily treatment they thought effected a union with him,thus assuring them a resurrection like his and happiness in the heaven of Aralu! In this adaptation of an ancient Egyptian legend to the changed times of Alexander's

successors we must not think that the Greeks supplied all the really helpful features,for in the adopting of this Osirian phase of the Egyptian faith the prestige and authority of one of the most ancient religions was added to the more up-to-date attractions of this religious syncretism.

The Egyptian religion was regarded by Graeco-Roman writers in two very different ways,-as the highest or lowest. They, too,as all subsequent students of the Nile religions,noted the abyss which separated the always ardent beliefs of the masses from the enlightened faith of the official priesthood. The Greeks and Romans gazed with awe and admiration upon the splendor of the temples and ceremonial,upon the fabulous antiquity of the sacred traditions and upon the profound erudition of a clergy possessed of a wisdom divinely revealed and,as disciples of that clergy,imagined themselves drinking from the original pure fountain whence their own myths had sprung. Yet,at the same time,they were shocked by the coarseness of its fetichism and the absurdities of its superstitions. The comic writers and satirists never ceased to scoff at the adorers of the cat,the crocodile,the leek and onion,e.g.,Juvenal says ironically

"O holy people whose very kitchen gardens produce gods".

Thus a purely Egyptian worship could not have been acceptable in the Graeco-Roman world,"and the main merit of the mixed creation" says Cumont, "of the political genius of the Ptole-

mies consisted in the rejection or modification of everything repugnant or monstrous, like the phallophories of Abydos, and in the retention of none but the stirring or attractive elements and deities."

It is a very remarkable fact that of all the many deities worshipped by the Egyptians only Osiris, his wife Isis, their son Horus or Harpocrates, and the faithful servant Anubis, were adopted by the Hellenic world-populations. All other heavenly or infernal spirits adored by the Egyptians remained strangers to Greece and her sons elsewhere. As thus modified, adjusted, sycretised, the cult of Isis-Serapis was the most civilized of all barbarian religions. It retained enough of the exotic element to arouse the curiosity of the Greeks, but not enough to offend their delicate sense of proportion, and its success was immediate and remarkable.

But was this hybred cult given a kindly reception in the land of its birth? This could hardly be expected, for Egypt had from time immemorial proven a veritable nest of bigotry where their national religion was often preferred to the welfare or independence of their land. But with this Egyptian characteristic in mind, the fact that the Egyptians accepted it at all, allowing its temples to rise in such a centre as Memphis, alongside of that in honor of the native god Apis, proves the political diplomacy of the Lagide family, so that Cumont tells us that in the time of the Antonine emperors, there were in Egypt alone no fewer than forty-two Serapeums!

Nevertheless,greatest triumphs were elsewhere. In the lands adjoining the eastern Mediterranean the political prestige and alliances of its author gave the cult an almost immediate entry into the great national centres. Moved by friendship for the ruler of Egypt the Athenians permitted it in the first years of the third century,B.C. an entrance into their city,allowing the new Serapeum to stand in the shadow of the very Acropolis. Meocreon introduces it into Cyprus;Agathocles of Sicily in marrying the daughter of Ptolemy,298 B.C.,welcomed to his dominions his wife's new deities. Antioch the new capital on the Orontes,built a sanctuary for the statue of Isis,sent by Ptolemy as a mark of esteem towards Callinicus,and Hallicarnassus, through the generosity of Assinoe.Ptolemy's wife or sister,or both,enjoyed the presence of Serapis as early as 307 B.C. Thus the king himself proved to be the greatest propagator of his new cosmopolitan cult. No wonder,then,that its liturgy always contained prayers for the ruling sovereign,-be he king or emperor. As the goddess of navigators,Isis was introduced by sailors and merchants to the seaports of Syria,Asia Minor,Greece,the islands of the Archipelago and as far as the Hellispont and Thrace,Delos a famous centre of commerce having a temple whose priests were members of the Athenian aristocracy.

With such a flow of success in the Eastern Mediterranean, it was only a matter of time when the Queen and Lord of the two worlds should appear in Rome,to which Sicily and Southern Italy, half Hellenized as they were- offered convenient media of approach.

It is probable that early in the second century Isis and Serapis were established in Southern Italy,and there was probably a Serapeum at Puteoli in Campania,as early as 150 B.C.,while the date of erection of that destroyed by earthquake in Pompeii in 63 B.C. is given in an inscription as 105 B.C. So that it is quite likely that at these dates Rome herself sheltered some followers of the eastern cult. Its history in Rome was long a troubled and uncertain one,-an alternation of toleration and persecution. Sulla felt compelled to recognize its guild of Pastophori in 80 B.C.,yet in the decade 58-48 B.C.,four times was outlawry pronounced against this foreign cult.and its temples destroyed within the city precincts. The influence of Cleopatra over Julius Caesar doubtless helped towards its larger toleration,for in 43 B.C. we find the triumvirs erecting a temple to Isis- no doubt in order to curry favor with the masses,in whose estimation the Egyptian cult with its gorgeous processions and variegated festivals of joy and sorrow,held a high place already. Augustus,restorer of the old Roman Religions,frowned upon the intruder,although when in Alexandria his attitude was entirely friendly,and,in 19 B.C.,Tiberius instituted the severest persecution in its history. But opposition to its spread seemed all in vain; it flourished upon such afflictions and hardships. The reason for its unpopularity with the authorities in Rome is not difficult to imagine. Its easy morals and emotional appeals offended the old Roman taste,and,worst of all,it was the known product of the Republic's

rival,and of Alexandria,in particular,greatest rival of Rome herself,in some respects her obvious superior. Thus in her experiences before Christianity's arrival on the scene,Isis proved it possible to succeed in the face of political hatred and violence,for after successfully weathering the storm of attack by Tiberious,the Nile deities for two centuries or more continued an uninterrupted expansion and growth throughout the Empire,even Emperors such as Caligula and Domitian erecting temples in honor of the once-persecuted gods,and Commodus walked in the Isiac procession an imperial devotee!

From Rome the cult spread over Italy and the provinces,entering N.Africa by way of Carthage,and the Danubian provinces by way of Aquileia. Gaul was invaded through the Rhone valley, and as many Oriental immigrants entered that province during the early empire,not a few of them were followers of Isis and brought her worship with them into the West. Valentia,Spain, records an Isiac Brotherhood,Holland and Cologne gave her tribute,and officers of the Sixth Legion worshipped her in far-distant York. By the end of the second century this cult had triumphantly spread all over the Empire,so that wherever Christianity appeared it had to face and overcome the highly organized ritualism of the Graeco-Egyptian cult. For,apart from the other claims,doctrinal and magical,this was the religion of thorough-going impressive Ritual! Here was a priestly caste devoted to continual service,temples served by a staff of ministers who were set apart for that service alone. Twice a day at the opening,when the god was awakened,and at

the closing of the temple,services were celebrated. This daily service was primarily due to the old Egyptian belief that the deities needed daily service in food and drink to sustain their existence,but of this rather primitive idea,the great mass of people,or even worshippers,knew nothing. In November of each year,the Passion and Resurrection of Osiris was celebrated in grievous mourning and succeeding joy. Juvenal speaks of the bald-headed(tonsured) multitude uttering lamentations and running to and fro,and of their exultant cries when Osiris is found,-thus,as in other mystery religions,setting forth the tragedy of death and the ultimate victory over it through union with the god. But this was only one of many impressive festivals to the learned because of the esoteric truth behind the symbolic exhibition, of these that of Horus(Hippocrates) at the vernal equinox when he -the sun god- arose to bless nature anew and that of March 5th,-the opening of navigation,were the best known. This latter function,when there is a procession to the sea and a miniature ship,laden with offerings to the goddess is set afloat,is lengthily described by Apuleius at a date probably about 170 A.D.,and is a fair sample of that pompous show with which Isis dazzled her devotees of that age. The gorgeous dresses,the music,the numbers of followers ranked in different grades, The numerous sacred "things" such as the golden palm,and godlen vase with their hidden symbolic meanings,all remind one of those church processions

which can be witnessed today in Southern Europe,-e.g. Southern France,Quebec or South America; the tonsured priests in both the ancient and modern processions are but a tribute to the political religion of Alexandria. Yet all was not mere external pomp and gaud; the religion of Isis and Serapis was much nearer Monotheism than either that of Greece or Rome. As the centuries rolled by and Christianity appeared,already Isis was the all-inclusive Queen of Heaven and Earth ,-"una quae est omnia",as she reveals herself to Lucius. So also Serapis. In him all energies centered,especially those of Zeus,Pluto and Helios,so that he is styled "unique". At first,as we have seen,the Isiac morality was rather easy-going,but as the ideals of philosophy and Christianity became more insistent,so her moral requirements grew more strict,-for this mystery cult, of them all,was always most open to suggestions from others. It was born in and remained symbolic of syncretism. The Hierarchy of this cult was the most extensive and the most devoted of all these old time faiths,i.e. it continued the Egyptian tradition and system. As with Attis,emasculation was the sign of supreme devotion,so,with Isis,the tonsure denoted supreme loyalty. Her priests were given credit for deep and profound learning,but were not above mercenary practices. Initiation into the mysteries was not only a tedious time of fasting and purification; it was also a costly process. Hence only the well-to-do could afford it.

But perhaps that which gave the priests such power and popularity was their assumed knowledge of those magic formulae whereby the gods were compelled to be gracious,and the happy fields of the next world obtained. This science of Magic had grown into a cut-and-dry system in which correct arrangement of the words and their absolutely right pronunciation -known only to the priests- were of supreme importance. It was understood that thus,through formulae,Osiris must be propitiated as Judge; so long as the answers to his questions could be given in the prescribed terms,the religious follower need fear no averse decision. It was thus that a very high sacramental doctrine arose,magic power attributed to forms and formulae and for such a system a priestly caste,carefully trained in these minutiae was an evident necessity. The Passion Play does,indeed,set forth a human-divine Savior,Osiris,who finally overcomes death and becomes a guarantor of personal salvation to all earnest seekers after it along the proper channels,and as one of the Trinity of gods he is an omnipotent friend in the lower world. This cult also emphasises a motherhood in God,afterwards to break out in Mariolatry,-even as Isiac asceticism and the tonsure were legacies to Christian communities and priests. Water as a purifying instrument is much in evidence,also the need of knowing the divine one is emphasised by the need of repeated initiations,whereby the devotee grows in grace and likeness to his deity; indeed,the initiated one is styled "Osiris" because one with him. And in those initiations there is men-

tion of the ecstatic visions granted of the divinities, as one of the privileges of the faithful, and all of this because of a growing sense of personal responsibility, the need of freedom from sin, of a higher victorious life; hence in some, asceticism was strongly developed -the great freedom to be accomplished through the magic union with deity. But Isis-Serapis, as the other mystery faiths, held too much of the mere legendary as well as the magical, -hence Christianity, with its historical real background of Divinity finally overcame this philosophically-bizarre cult and in 391 A.D., under the fanatical bishop Theophilus, the Serapeum was destroyed, and in that act of fanatical violence we see too well that Christianity, while triumphant, had not escaped unscathed; she had already lost something of her Master's spirit of Love and Unworldliness.

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IV. Mithraism

The fourth,last and worthiest of those Mystery Cults to be studied in this paper,was the product of an Aryan-Vedic age and its peoples,and did not arrive in Western Europe before the last quarter of the first century,A.D. In that field, therefore,Christianity itself preceded Mithraism by a quarter of a century at least,long enough to make converts in all the great cities from Jerusalem to Rome and beyond. But Mithraism while last to enter the Western field and not the most zealous in missionary zeal,yet in Diocletian's region was by far Christianity's most formidable opponent. This,in itself, proves that Mithra contained a tremendous appeal and attraction for the needs and the peoples of that time.

Although Oriental,Mithra claims a thoroughly Aryan origin, for in fact outline he can be traced to the cradle of the Aryan race. The Vedic hymns celebrated his name as one of the great triad of Gods,-Varuna,Mitra,and Aryaman. This Mithra of India is the same as the Mithra of Iran or of the Mitanni in Western Asia. He was the god of contracts,the rewarder of those faithful to their oaths,and enjoys the unusual honor of being particularly associated with the high ethical qualities of truth,justice and law. Under the Zoroastrian reformation and unique exaltation of Ahura Mazda,Mithra is found in this newer arrangement as a mere "Yazata",one created by Ahura,although evidently of the highest order of created beings, and,later,Plutarch,in expounding Persian dualism,tells us that

between Oromazes,dweller in eternal light,and Ahriman,ruler in the realms of darkness,Mithra occupies the place of vice-regent of Oromazes,-his general in the war with darkness. And,after the establishment of the Persian Empire under Cyrus,we find Mithra gradually resuming his more ancient prerogatives,as noted in the inscriptions of Artaxerxes Memnon in his honor.

We need not linger over the period during which Mithra gradually resumed these honors,while moving westward through Babylonia and into the mountainous districts of Asia Minor, Armenia,Pontus,Cappadocia and Phrygia,with here and there nearer approaches to the Mediterranean coast,except to note that among these peoples his worship evidently borrowed several additional features; astrology from the Babylonian priesthood; outward dress -cap and cloak- from the Phrygians; and from the Greeks,his neighbors,that sculptured representation of the god which afterwards,through its European career,formed the model from which future sculptors drew their concepts of Mithra as the beautiful yet powerful youth slaying the bull,as we find it in many a Mithraeum from the Black Sea to the frontiers of Scotland. The Mithra with which the Roman legionary or Emperor became ennamoured was hardly the Mithra of the Aryan, or that of Persia; yet,spite of that notable willingness to assimilate from other popular and powerful cults,the mediator god ever retained his old-time ethical qualities and that radiant beauty and strength so marked a feature in his Indo-

Iranian ancestry. Secluded but not decadent, Mithra remained amid those highland semi-savage peoples and cults of Asia Minor until the advance of the Roman eagles in the latter part of the first century, A.D., tore down the dividing and isolating barriers, permitting the pent-up force of this cult to start on its westward course of conquest. Soldiers, recruited for the legions from such territories as Commagene and Pontus carried their religion with them as the legions made their western round of encampments; Merchants from these same Asiatic territories, looking for the wealth of the west, maintained in those strange lands the worship of Mithra, and made him shrines in every seaport and trading centre along their western pilgrimages; slaves, of whom those hardy mountaineers furnished a constant supply by the thousand, in their servitude on farm or city residence, or in their imperial occupations, were just as loyal to their home faiths, as is told by many inscriptions found in those underground "cave shrines" of their deity-lord. Of this swift and widespread Mithraic expansion - concerning which literature, contemporary or otherwise, had little to say- it is only of late years that Archaeology has uncovered the forgotten, burried past of a virile religion. Mithra was truly a Mystery Cult, -so much so that not even a well-authenticated liturgy of their faith has come down to us; the one claimed by Dietrich as genuine is now discredited by many leading scholars. In Plutarch, Porphyry, Tertullian, Justin Martyr and others, we find comments on this cult and its system

of religion but so scant and probably prejudiced that,as trustworthy evidence,they are,by themselves,valueless. Hence, it is from the inscriptions and general furniture of the Mithraeums,distributed so generously in many parts of the Empire, the ruins of which still persist,that our knowledge both of the teaching and practices as well as its geographical expansion, is most fully drawn and there is much left to conjecture.

Evidently the Hellenistic world never took kindly to Mithra. Perhaps he was too Persian,too austere,or their own Mysteries along with that of Isis-Serapis were sufficient. Yet here and there on the Eastern Mediterranean littoral,Mithraism obtained a hold.e.g.,Tarsus in Cilicia,home city of St.Paul, and Piraeus,port of Athens itself. In surmising that possibly the Greeks considered Mithra too Persian,it is assumed that, spite of numerous syncretisms,much of the Mithraic ritual remained in the old Iranian language,as is strongly suggested by Lucian's Comedy,where Mithra is represented as unable to speak Greek,although installed as one of the gods on Grecian Olympus! We have already stated the several agencies of Mithra's expansion in the West after the Flavian era,as soldiers,merchants and slaves,-showing that in this early stage of its history - even as it was with Christianity- its followers belonged almost entirely to the meaner elements of society,but,later,it is found to be highly in favor with noble as well as commoner,with the imperial ruler as with his humble legionary! Commodus([illegible]-192 A.D.)becomes an initiate and in the beginning of the fourth

century A.D. Diocletian and his co-rulers proclaim the radiant god as the patron of the Empire,thus showing that while one of the most democratic of all cults,yet in its Persian doctrine of the divinity of rulers -not so crass as that of Egypt- Mithraism recommended itself just as strongly to the later emperors who in their ideas of rule were more Asiatic than European.

In Cumont's "Mysteries of Mithra",an accurate map gives a bird's eye view of the geographical growth of the cult between the time of Vespasian and that of Diocletian,the story of the introduction,as told by Plutarch,through the Celician pirates taken captive by Pompey and transported to Italy, while probable enough as a fact,-as a factor in its growth the pirates appear to have exerted no apparent influence; and here is a fitting place to point out the fact of an alliance formed between this new arrival and his ancient associate in Asia Minor -Cybele,whose worship was legalized in Rome -even though restricted- and whose friendship therefore must have been of great advantage to the stranger seeking foothold. And this alliance appears to have been more than political; it led to an interchange of cult practices as well,the moral tone of Mithra more than compensating Magna Mater for any political help she might be able to grant. But once initiated into its Western campaign,Mithraism speedily carried equal prominence with,and ~~therefore~~ outstripped,its former patron and ally.

In the map,noted above,we observe (1) The few remains of Mithraism in the Eastern Mediterranean part of the Empire; for Greece,Macedonia and Thrace———————— the Piraeus is the lone representative,while across on the Asiatic coast,not a Mithraeum or even a Mithraic monument seems to have existed, from Bithynia all the way around to Cilicia,when,as already noted, Tarsus appears as a centre of Mithraic culture as early as 70 B.C. and down through two centuries of our era.

Sidon had a Mithraeum,and in Egypt,Alexandria and Memphis. It was to the west and north of Hellenic influences that the Persian god won his largest victories.

> "Almost in the same year when Statius was penning his verses about Mithra,in the 'Thebaid' a Flavian freedman was erecting a tablet to the god on the Esquiline",

while soldiers of the east carried his Mysteries to the camps on the Danube. Here at Aquincum,Carnuntum,Vindobona,and numerous other military points the cult took root and flourished until swept away by the inrush of northern barbarians. On the lower Danube it was equally successful,the province of Dacia becoming practically a Mithraic preserve,so that from modern Philippolis on the south to Moldavia on the north,the "cave" shrines were numerous. It is,however,on the Rhine and its immediate southern tributaries that we find the most numerous evidences of the activity of Mithra's soldier missionary. From the fronteer of Switzerland to the Dutch border,Archaeology has uncovered scores of Mithraic chapels,some of these the largest and best equipped of any yet found,e.g.,that at Oster-

burken. From thence by way of Boulogne the legionary carried his religion across into Britain, where its monuments are found at most of the entrenched camps or military centres, e.g., London, Chester, York; and along, even beyond, Hadrian's wall half a dozen prominent Mithraic stations existed. It is the soldier who established the cult in North Africa, for outside of Carthage only a few unimportant remains are found in and around Lambaese, the great fortified camp of that province.

So much, then, for the more direct successes of the legionary devotee. Let us now observe in what other parts of the Empire facilities for Mithras existed in more or less abundance. These territories are, in general, as follows: Up the Rhone to and beyond Lyons, South-east France on the coast; Northern Italy and Switzerland, including Geneva- down the Italian Peninsula to Rome, and beyond into Sicily, where Syracuse and Palermo were important centres. East of the Adriatic, north from the Macedonian frontier were numerous "~~apileos~~ Mithraeums". Aquilaea, a great seaport, was also a Mithraic distributing point. In this territorial expansion the success of Mithra should be attributed to all the various agencies already mentioned, rather than to any one of them, for in Italy the slaves play an important part in the introduction of all the Oriental faiths, and in the imperially-governed provinces, many of the officials, especially of the lower grades, were drawn from Asia Minor and Mithraism by early training, while the sea ports were always fertile ground for foreign cults. From the time of the Antonnine em-

perors Mithraism enjoyed a large part of royal favor,and thus,of course,it became quite the thing for the official in Dalmatia,Noricum,or Pannonia to inscribe his name as builder or restorer of one of Mithra's modest shrines.

This brief geographical survey of Mithraic expansion shows us then that while in the centre and northern and northwestern parts of the Empire Mithraism was,by the end of the second century of our era,of heathen cults easily first,yet large sections,in the east,south (Africa), and west remained practically untouched. This lack of Mithraic influence in so many parts doubtless arose from the fact that none of the three classes of Mithraic missionaries ever had much settlement in those particular territories,e.g.,Spain and S.W.France. But granting the approximate accuracy of this survey,based as it is on the best authorities,then what does this suggest of the cult's missionary zeal in the widest sense? Evidently the Mithraist, while zealous in informing his immediate neighbor as to the merits of his faith,did not trouble himself about more distant peoples amongst whom he had no other business. This was a serious defect,-a fatal weakness in the day of ultimate testing.

The geographical distribution of Mithraism also suggests that this cult and Christianity may have had but little to do with each other all through the first century and part of the second,-except of course in Mithra's more original haunts in Asia Minor,for Christianity won its initial victories among those Hellenistic peoples who had largely rejected Mithraism,

and in such fields as North Africa and Spain where Mithra had such insignificant vogue. Of course contact was made and antagonism aroused in such centres as Tarsus,Peraeus and Rome, but the real conflict between the two growing giants was postponed,largely,until the third and fourth centuries,A.D.

Mithra's syncretistic tendencies in Asia Minor have been already remarked,its history in Europe is but a continuation of the same policy. Cumont records that both on the Danube and the Rhine sculptural and mural representations show Mithra in close association with the local deities,also Jupiter Dolicherius,or the Roman Jupiter,are found along with Mithra in all the occidental countries. Here was both his strength and weakness,as is seen best in its failure to cope with Christianity,-which was a fiercely exclusive religion,at least in profession. It is usually thought that one of the syncretisms,the most notable,was the reception of the bloody taurobolium from Mithra's close ally and useful friend --in early days at least--Magna Mater,or from some other Anatolian goddess. But this conclusion,although evidently accepted by Cumont,is denied by Pythian-Adams as unwarranted by any evidence,by the lack of place in Mithra's sanctuaries for such a ritualistic act,and,one dares add,the lack of need for such an act in the ethical and moral education and discipline in the Mithraic initiations. It may be wise,therefore,to leave the credit or discredit of this barbarous baptism to the more natural and appropriate system of the orgiastic Great Mother.

During Mithra's upward struggle to popularity we know little of its outward organization,-possibly sheltered under Magna Mater's wing or organized into funerary societies,but its numerous adherents in government employ must soon have obtained for their faith tolerance and recognition. But of its conduct under more favorable conditions we know that in civil affairs the cult had a complete and well-arranged organization. A miniature senate,with President and a defender to attend to legal matters and curators to guard its financial interests, seem to have been the usual method of fraternal rule in each community,the community whole ranking with the other religious colleges (sodalicia) of the Empire. But the inner or religious organization was a distinctly separate affair,although the same member might hold offices in both departments. Here, as "Fratres" the brotherly aspect was emphasised ,the supreme inner head being styled pater patrum. The religious officers may be divided into the liturgical and mystic,the former giving attention to the outward worship,-as the daily invocation of the sun,the holding of certain festivals,namely the 25th of Dec.and the spring initiation services at the equinox,the care of the holy water and the sacred flame- while the Sacerdos had charge of externals in the Mithraeum,-its regular services,care and adornment;in the more secret services of the sect he played no part. Then the Pater Patrum is the dispenser of the much-sought-for degrees. Thus Mithraism, locally,was highly organized; yet its weakness in not possessing some Empire-wide unity of action,as Christianity came

to possess in its bishops,is just as obvious and striking. To state dogmatically the teachings and practices of Mithraism is impossible. The evidences and proofs are too fragmentary; hence with the data drawn from inscription,mural painting and sculpture of many a Mithraeum,enforced by the too scanty references to the cult found in the writings of heathen authors or Christian apologists,all one dares do is merely to state the generally accepted conclusions as we find them supported by the writings of the authoritative students of the cult.

As a rule the Mithraic chapels were small,only affording room for from fifty to one-hundred worshippers,usually dug out,rather than erected,near a spring of water,so as to afford a plentiful supply of an element so necessary in these numerous lustrations. The interior was simple in construction,the walls and roof affording space for painting and inscription,while the upper end or apex contained those basreliefs through which the worshipper was instructed symbolically into the deeper truths of his faith. In the centre is seen the "Tauroctthony"- the slaying of the primeval bull by Mithra. This story is similar to,yet a contrast with,that in the Zoroastrian "Bundahish",where the primeval bull or ox, destroyed by the Magic of Ahriman,becomes,when dead,the source of all manner of grain,medicinal plants,the vine from its blood,and,last of all,the manifold species of animals,all of which sprung from parts of the dead body. In Mithraism this

story is altered so that Mithra,the good god,not Ahriman the god of evil,becomes the cause of the world's fructification and vitalization. Thus Mithra assumes the role of Creator. Other reliefs picture the god's birth,born of a rock,-a figure of speech denounced as blasphemous by Justin and Fermicius-holding in one hand the knife,with which he afterward slays the bull;in the other a torch signifying the light he brings, as god of light. Shepherds are seen watching his birth; afterwards they come and adore him. Having thus entered on his labors on man's behalf,we see in another scene his arrow cleaving a massive rock from which there bursts a torrent of sparkling water from which men are seen eagerly drinking, thus reminding us of the warfare he wages with Ahriman,who, in this instance,is prevented from destroying mankind by a terrible drouth,even as afterwards he attempts,unsuccessfully, to do through a terrible flood. Mithra also conquers the sun-god,then crowns him as his constant ally,and finally, after his labors are ended,the two allies feast together on bread and wine,this scene being a frequent one on the chapel-sculptured-reliefs. This celebration before leaving the world being finished,Mithra ascends to the high abode of the gods,in the Sun Chariot,there to continue his watchful care over the faithful.

Yet Mithra,although the most prominent in the Pantheon, is not considered as the chief Deity,either in India,Iran or Europe. In the deeper shadows of the Apse is often found

the screened-in figure of the Lion-headed God,generally assumed to represent "Boundless Time" father of Ormuzd and Ahriman. Sometimes the Lion God is assimilated to the latin Jupiter; sometimes it is Ormuzd who is thus transformed,both of them being considered Mithra's superiors,-he being "the Mediator-Demiurge" between this Lofty One and mankind,as well as opponent of Ahriman,to whom,apparently,he is reckoned as superior in power.

So much for the cosmogony. What of those mystic rites whereby the faithful were fitted to become valiant soldiers of Mithra here,and his companions in bliss hereafter? According to an inscription in Rome,and the testimony of St. Jerome there were seven grades of initiation,the first three being received from a sort of catechumenate,the four last are made up of the Communicants. No women are connected with these rites; only men were received into this soldierly cult. In the tests whereby the novice was led up,step by step,we find the following virtues inculcated: Fortitude, Control of Passion,Renunciation. Mithra alone was his devotee's crown - a trait held up by Tertullian as fit example for Christians. Tertullian also tells us that then the candidate was "branded" or "sealed" for Mithra's service;probably at that stage he was also baptized for the remission of sins. He also is then allowed to partake of an imperfect or preliminary communion. Justin speaks of it as "bread and a cup of water". Then follows the mystical death -

described by Tertullian as "the devil's image of the Resurrection" - and thus he enters the grade of "Lion", becoming a full fledged communicant,purged with honey, hot water,and his cup of communion is now one of wine,substitute for the ancient sacred "Haoma". He is now "reborn" and in the sacramental feast is confirmed for everlasting life and felicity. For his daily guidance there were those 'Injuncions-entolai' spoken of by Julian the Imperial initiate.

And what of that next life for which this severe discipline is instituted,-for immortality is a fundamental tenet; the soul has come from the heaven of spirits by way of the planets and at the end of life must return by the same route. This evidently is a teaching borrowed from the astrology of Babylon. Mithra,god of light and truth,as Judge,separates the good from the evil as death brings them before him. The former,as Origin tells us,are sent upward on the planetary stairway to the abode of happy spirits,while the latter are turned over to Ahriman for torture,or to live again on earth in some unclean animal body.

But the struggle between good and evil was to cease one day. The divine bull shall reappear on earth,Mithra shall descend,call all men from their tombs,separating the good and evil. Once more the bull is sacrificed by Mithra,from its body a drink conferring immortality is produced and given to the Just,while Ahriman with his host of evil as well as the unjust are destroyed by fire,and the universe,renewed,shall

enjoy eternal happiness.

In brief,here we have glimpses of a Mediator Savior,a Feast of Nativity,a Sunday,Adoration of Shepherds,Baptism, Life through death,Purification from sin and Renewal through holy sacraments,a last Supper,an Ascension,a return to Judgment,Resurrection of all,Heaven and Hell,and the final triumph of Right.

Here is a democracy,a real brotherhood,yet supplies the Caesars with their favorite brand of the Divine right of Kings; here is a virile strenuously virtuous life under the leadership of the Unconquered god,-but only for men! It was thus a mixture of weakness and strength,-a combination unable to meet the more compact forces of Christianity,which,absorbing the attractive elements,in 394 A.D. by aid of the Imperial arm,crushed the remaining constituents,and proceeded to forget its greatest opponent and most formidable rival, both in inward graces and outward power.

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III.

Christian Syncretism

Our survey of the four great Mystery Religious Cults is now finished. Necessarily it has had to be more eclectic than extensive; yet it is sufficiently full to warrant the following three pertinent observations.

I. That the Thought Atmosphere,at the time of Christianity's initial expansion was distinctly religious. This is in direct and emphatic contradiction of the too common belief that Christianity entered a world religiously bankrupt,-given over to atheism,wantonness,and ethical or religious wreckage. Further,we have learned that this religious atmospheric saturation was most pronounced in those regions and amongst those peoples where Christian missionaries made their earliest Gentile campaigns,-Syria,Asia Minor,and Hellenic Europe. Eleusis in Greece,was the radiating centre of Demeter's mysteries all over the Greek world.Since the Sixth Century B.C. it had been a magnet for myriads of pilgrims yearning for religious satisfaction. From Alexandria,Egypt,the Isis-Serapis-Osiris Cult had reached out for three centuries,until at the founding of the Antioch Christian church,its influence was felt and its ritualistic mysteries known and patronised widely in all the great centres of population around the Eastern Mediterranean; while in Asia Minor the cults of Magna Mater and Mithra had been domiciled and strongly entrenched for centur-

ies. It was from Asia Minor that Magna Mater emigrated to Rome in 204 B.C. and here her seat of power was located at Pessinus,-for her vogue in Rome rather strengthened than diminished her power in her original territories. Mithra,as Plutarch tells us,was the god of the Cilician pirates,and had been settled in Tarsus before Pompey's conquest,in 67 B.C., of those same Cilician pirates. And by the middle of the First Century,A.D.,all the then cults of Magna Mater, Isis-Serapis and Mithra had footholds in Rome and Southern Italy.

Are we not then entirely reasonable in assuming that Christian missionaries,particularly Paul on his Missionary Journeys,were confronted by these other faiths in their religious concepts,ritual practices,hierarchical organizations and theological phraseology? With proofs,direct and indirect,so abundant,we must accept the above observation as an actual determining condition of that period and so proceed to the second observation.

II. That this religious or theological condition,so found by the Christian missionary,contained many remarkable parallels to his own teachings,and religious concepts,which parallels become all the more numerous and striking with the growth of the Christian Church in the first three centuries of its history.

Such parallels,as we have seen,are so numerous and obvious that one is really surprised at the actual scarcity of essentially new religious maxims or practices introduced

by the Christian church. In face of such an amount of material to draw from,a selection of the more notable resemblances between these cults and our own faith is all that is possible or necessary in such a paper as this. Jesus Christ in his relationships,divine and human,formed the message of the Church to the world. And to his life teachings and the New Testament developments of these,as well as their growth in the next few centuries,we will now point out the more striking parallel relationships and teachings,plus their outward development in the cults we have been sketching in the last four studies. The general hunger for personal salvation from evil was not created coincident with Christianity's advent. It had existed in the empire for centuries; in fact its existence accounted for the presence and ministrations of the Mystery Cults. To many Gentiles Jesus was only one other divinely born savior,even as Osiris of Egypt or Attis of Phrygia,or Mithra of Persia. Born of a virgin,even as Attis was supposed to be,or Mithra,born of the rock. The adoration by shepherds in our Gospel,is seen also in the mythical birth of Mithra,and the victories of Jesus over demons and the devil himself contains the same underlying truth as we see especially in Mithraism,where Ahriman and his helpers ever oppose Mithra the Good. But salvation must come through suffering,even death; so,as in our Gospels the Cross figures,so also in each of those Mystery Cults some divinity suffers or dies, e.g.,Attis or Osiris,the sacred bull or a Dionysus. The man-

ner of death or reason for it differs,but the central thought is the same. Then,Jesus and his disciples had a communion ere He died; so we find in each of the heathen cults some sort of sacred feast whereby the disciple communes with the deity. Baptism is common to all,-even baptism by blood,e.g.,the Taurobolium,- cf Revelation 1^5,also John 3^5.

Resurrection is another of the great common beliefs. Christ's was but another edition of that of Attis,or Osiris, even as the new birth emphasised in John's writings is a renewed emphasis on what those others also held,e.g.,the disciple of Magna Mater after undergoing the Taurobolium,or the initiate of Mithra after certain stages,each was known as "Re-Natus".

Another interesting parallel was the idea of "Union with the Deity",so advocated in both Johannine and Pauline writings,e.g.,John,chaps XIV,XVII and Gal.3^{27-28}. This lies at the heart of the heathen mysteries. Through their lustrations,fastings and sacred communion they hope to thus become one with their deity; indeed,the initiate of the Egyptian Mysteries was himself called "Osiris". The Christian ascension is duplicated in Mithra's after he finishes his earthly labors,and as Jesus is declared the Judge - the holder of the Keys of Hades and Death (Rev.1^{18})- so we have seen Osiris and Mithra as lords of life and death,-righteous judges. The parallel between the Christian Heaven-Up- and that of the Mithraist is evident,as well as the return of Christ and the end of the world in judgment,which is also similar to the

Mithraic program,-on general lines.

We might also add that the ecstatic features of Pentecost day, of Paul in II Cor.12,and of the Apocalyptic seer in Revelations,would seem natural and homelike to initiates of Magna Mater and Isis - e.g.,Apuleuis tells us of such ecstacy in the case of initiation before the great Egyptian goddess, and in a lesser degree it was true of the Eleusinian mysteries and the Mithraic initiations.

As a closing parallel we might mention the similarity in language of the New Testament and Mystery Cult phraseology, of the sacraments as potent magic,and of the hierarchies as existing at the end of the third century A.D.,as well as that of the various church festivals,- Christmas and Easter particularly,but of these we expect to write more fully under the next section. The above parallels,admitting the differences as well as the similarities,however,go to prove fully that Christianity did not have to create in the minds of people those ideas for which it stood- those ideas, in some form, to some degree, were already there merely waiting to be more fully developed. Thus those heathen cults proved forerunners in providing such a religious atmosphere and language Moreover,they also proved direct contributors to the content of the Christian System,as developed by the end of the third century,A.D.,as we shall now go on to demonstrate under the third head or observation.

III. That the Mystery Religions evidently contributed to Christianity in its development through three centuries something direct in the realm of (1) language,(2) ritual, and (3) Hierarchical organization. Here we find ourselves in a debateable zone,where all shades of comment and opinion are found. This is true of what we have called The Linguistic Contribution of the Mystery Religions to Early Christianity, as found in the New Testament writings. Reitzenstein evidently is an extremist as to the influence of those cults on the language of St.Paul in particular,-making out the latter to be a thorough-going Hellenist,while Schweitzer sees the Apostle as only a Jew. Then we have Kennedy,and Maurice Jones somewhat conservative with many others of varying degrees between; thus one feels free to follow what appears the most likely or common sense line of argument without showing disrespect for such distinguished scholars. And such a semi-independent course is found in the outline which here follows. (1) The chronological study has shown us the priority in time which the Mystery Religions enjoyed over Christianity,-hence their influence in shaping or creating the religious phraseology of that period. (2) This is particularly true of those regions in which Christianity made its earlier campaigns,i.e.,Syria,Asia Minor,Thrace,Macedonia and Greece. Here were founded the Pauline churches to which he wrote his epistles; here also was Ephesus,the probable source of the Johannine New Testament literature. In these

regions all the four Mystery Cults had enjoyed patronage for centuries -even Mithra in the interior of Asia Minor admittedly- a fact surely overlooked by such a writer as Maurice Jones in his interesting and recent work "The New Testament in the Twentieth Century",p 137,and not enough emphasised by Kennedy, for,(3) The New Testament writings of John and Paul were written for readers who must,in a majority of cases,have been acquainted with the religious phraseology of those cults from which many must have come into the Christian churches,-also written by men who themselves knew this phraseology. How could Paul have travelled and resided as he did in Tarsus, Antioch,up into Galatia,and not have become acquainted with the religious phrases of Magna Mater and Mithra,as well as those of Isis and Demeter? Or how could the author of the Johannine Gospel and Epistles have resided in or near Ephesus and remained ignorant of such everyday expressions in that metropolitan religious clearing house? And this question is equally pertinent of Paul in Europe and its cults. Had those writers remained impervious to their environing religious conversation,they must have surely been lacking in a marvelous degree of that wisdom and shrewdness which,as leaders,they must have possessed. And this suggests (4) that the purpose of writing was to inform their readers or fellow Christians,rather than to teach them Old Testament or Jewish-Apocalyptic language.

Here is the crux of the matter under discussion. It is

generally admitted that the New Testament contains much phraseology which was common to the Mystery Religions' liturgies. Of these a few examples must satisfy,and first we shall select a few passages or verses from Paul and John,the sentiments of which must have sounded quite familiar to worshippers of Mithra,Isis,Attis,or Demeter.

Col.3^{1}	Risen with Christ
Gal.6^{17}	The marks of Jesus
Gal.2^{20}	Crucified with Christ
Rev.1^{6}	Washed in his blood
John 6^{53}	Eat flesh-drink blood of Son of Man
John 15^{5})	
" 14^{23})	
I " 2^{24})	Union with Deity
Rev. 3^{20})	
II Cor 6^{16})	
John 18^{3}	To know God is eternal life
John III 3^{5}	Necessity of re-birth
John I 4)	
" III 19^{20})	Jesus the light and life

all of which religious concepts have been already noted in one or another of the Mystery Cults in our survey. Also here are some words which all our authorities pronounce Mystery-Cult words: sophia,doxa,apokalupsis,pneuma and pheumatikas,sumphuton,rema,teleios,and eikon,- a representative collection of New Testament language on a small scale. What,then,does this phraseology in the New Testament really prove? This question is best answered by asking this other: whence did the writers draw these phrases and words,-from Old Testament and Jewish Apocalyptic literature or from the religious Mystery Cult vocabulary? Kennedy argues that the Old Testament and Apocalyptic language furnish a sufficient basis for their usage; in that he may be right. But,granting that these words and phrases are common to the Jewish and heathen religious lang-

triple formula (Matt 28^{19}) is but the beginning of that process of "sacramentalism" which in two centuries had robbed the rite of its New Testament simplicity and gave it very much the same status and importance in the Christian system as it had in the contemporary "Mysteries" of Eleusis,Magna Mater, Isis and Mithra. John's Gospel goes a step further than Matthew,for in chapter 3,verse 5,he makes the new birth dependent partly on the water. In the Shepherd of Hermes,the idea has so grown that the church of his vision is built "on water"!

In the Teachings of the Twelve Apostles,baptism must be preceded by "fasting" so as to procure a purity giving no hold to the demons. Thus very early in its history "baptism" borrows the values of magic power from sister faiths,for in Corinth,Christians were accustomed to receive baptism on behalf of the dead who had failed to be baptized in life!

The Canons of Hippolytus affords an insight to the process of receiving those who desired to enter the fold by this holy sacrament. It was evidently quite a process,a rigid preparatory discipline,reminding one of those of Lucias in his Isiac initiation. On the Saturday before the Sunday of baptism,they come and kneel before the bishop,who spreads his hands over them so as to expel the evil spirits from every limb,breathes on them and signs them with the cross on breast, forehead,ears and mouth. When,next day,they are baptized,we learn that first they are annointed with the oil of exorcism

uages alike,that the writers were cognisant of both from personal contact,and that the objective of the writings -Gospel and Epistle alike- was to elucidate truth to those Gentile readers,many of them ex-devotees of the Mystery Cults doubtless,-is it not wise to conclude and affirm that under such conditions those writers would naturally choose such phrases as the above from that religious vocabulary with which they knew their readers were entirely familiar,rather than from a source which though familiar to themselves,might be unfamiliar to those ex-devotees of heathen cults? Of the two possible sources,then,it appears most plausible and reasonable to give the preference to that language with which the readers of John and Paul were best acquainted.

IV. The development of New Testament teaching by those readers and others after them during the first three centuries of Christianity's life goes to show that,whatever the writers meant them to understand by the above and other phrases of allied origin,the great majority came to interpret such instruction,more and more,in a way similar to that given them in the Mystery Religions.

This is most convincingly demonstrated in the steady growth of the conviction that the church sacraments,-Baptism and the Eucharist,-were possessed of those magic powers which the heathen attributed to similar rites in their faiths.

In the Acts of the Apostles believers were "baptized into the name of Jesus Christ" (Acts 2^{38}),while the Gospel

and,afterwards,with the chrism of thanksgiving. Such an elaborate ceremony naturally took a high place in the emotions of those days,even as in that of Isis or Mithra;and when we read of the newly-baptized receiving at the Eucharist which followed cups of milk and honey,we can easily sense the source of this at least from one direction. The initiate of Mithra,as he enters the "Lion" grade,receives the same elements and thus is reborn. Justin calls baptism "the water of life",Tertullian "the enrolment of God",-the latter expounding the theme of "water efficacy" in his tract on Baptism in which he also shows the first known existence of Christian sponsors. It may be remarked that fasting and sponsoring was a characteristic of the Isiac cult worship.

Being so efficacious it naturally became the popular custom to baptize children also,in case they should not grow up and so lose its magic effect. Also,some,like Constantine, postponed it to the last moment,so as to be sure of making the most of both worlds. Thus is it only too obvious that the sacrament of baptism,with its pomp and power had only the faintest relation with that of Jesus or that of the Acts; it was a development to the Nth power of the Mystery Cult brand of water and even blood lustration!

This transformation in the simple Baptism of the Gospels is paralleled fully by that of the other sacrament which began as a simple love-memorial feast in Jerusalem,but ends up,as we

shall see,in the early church period,in a veritable riot of ecclesiastical monopoly of the resources of a Heavenly Being whose flesh and blood they pretended to dispense to superstitious devotees of old gods under a new name. When the Christian apostle,Paul,sought to give his fellow Christians at Antioch,it might be,some representation of the mystery of the faith,he found it at hand in the original "love feast" which he gave the significance of a sacramental act of worship,thus erecting a barrier against the Judaism which ever sought to absorb the new body into its old and formal mechanism. Face to face,however,with similar "feasts" or sacraments in the Mystery Cults,the "Eucharist"rapidly developed an importance in the Christian system never held by the sacraments of those cults. "The elements of the supper became 'mysteries',the conceptions of sacrifice attained predominance, the sacramental reference occupied a chief place,and the necessity for a priestly intermediary formulated itself." The gulf fixed between the simplicity of the Gospel meal and the syncretized Christian Eucharist may be inferred from the following mystic narrative of Dionysius Areopagites,-quoting the first two sentences: "All the other imitations are incomplete without this. The consummation and crown of all the rest is the participation of him in the thearchic mysteries." At the beginning of the third century A.D. the service has already gained the name Missa= "Mass";its secret character is indicated by the title 'mysteries' (Canons of Hippolytus). The sacred food was guarded with vigilance

lest a crumb drop to the floor,or a fly light on the cup,and the bread was handed to the communicants with the words, "Hoc est corpus meum". Thus was developed that idea of intrinsic potency in elements devoted to deity,common to all the mystery cults,which even Paul seems to hold in his declaration of I Cor.11$^{29-30}$,that an unworthy participant would fare ill by such an act. Ignatius calls the Eucharist "the medicine of immortality",-that gift which the Eleusinian mysteries professed to impart, Justin informs the emperor and people of Rome

> "it has the power to effect a change in our flesh and blood and nourish them so as to become incorruptible"

and Tertullian asserts

> "the flesh feeds on the body and blood of Christ that the soul may fatten upon God."

Under Cyprian the idea of the Eucharist as a fresh sacrifice of Christ comes to the front,crowning the humble elements with a halo,and the priest with an honor never dreamed of even by the arrogant priests of Isis. Herod had been out-Heroded! No wonder the sacred elements were taken to sick-beds and even ministered to infants; why not since they confer immortality? Thus was the vision of God by faith,in the humble memorial meal of the Gospels,exchanged for the bizarre tinsel of outward show and arrogant claims,and the Mystery Cults,already on the wane,might well feel amply revenged by this sacramental monstrosity,Eucharist by name but Animistic by nature.

Wernle sums up the sacramental discussion in these terms:

> "It is in the development of the idea of the sacraments that we have the strongest evidence of the influence of the mysteries."

Sacramentalism and sacerdotalism, naturally, go hand in hand. In apostolic days, when the Eucharist was but the simple "Agapē", all believers were "kings and priests", and, later also, we read such statements as that by Irenaeus that

> "all righteous men have the priestly rank"

or that by Justin,

> " We are the true high-priestly race of God".

Yet, in due time the Church developed an exclusive priesthood of its own with the salvation of believers in its custody. This development may be briefly described as a gradual change from the ministry of gifts, the early type (the Charismatic), to that of regular "orders"; or again and more briefly, the change from inspiration to organization.

It is true that high churchmen today, by means of some wonderful and fearful exegetical jugglery, extract the full-fledged priesthood of the third and following centuries from the New Testament, but to the impartial student, there is as much difference between the New Testament presbyter or overseer, and the lordly bishops of Rome, Alexandria and Antioch, in the third century, as between the former and an Isiac High-priest, master of Egyptian magic and spiritual lore!

What were some of the causes for this radical change

from simple fellowship of believers to a closely organized hierarchy,claiming for itself powers which even the Apostles had never assumed.

(1) The need of definite leadership in the great Gnostic and Montanist controversies. The early bishop-overseer,on account of his office,is the natural defender of the faith,and the greater his "episcopal charge" the greater influence he is able to wield.

(2) As the church grew in numbers,the need for uniformity in doctrine and practice became the great goal and object,and the bishops more and more were allowed to have charge of the "holy deposit of faith".

(3) "The gifts of the Spirit",so common in the Apostolic age,became rare,and on account of the Montanist extravagance, claimants to them were even viewed with suspicion. But the tradition remaining,a theory of official endowment arose.

This change in the status of the bishop is best seen in the statements regarding the office and its holder by various of the older church Fathers. Ignatius of Antioch,on his way to Rome and martyrdom,writes,about 110 A.D., "Do nothing without the Bishop" - the Bishop is a type of the Father" - and, follow the Bishop as Jesus follows the Father". Another angle of their growing claims is shown by Tertullian,about 200 A.D. when he declares

> "Valid churches are those founded by the apostles,and such churches as agree with them,wherein the apostolic tradition has been maintained by the succession of bishops".

And Cyprian,his disciple,goes still further in saying

> "There is no salvation out of the church,and if anyone be not with the bishop he is not in the church."

But it was as the dispenser of the sacramental mysteries that the Christian priesthood so resembles the Mystery Religion Hierarchy. Even as these were a class by themselves,so the Christian priest became in his functions as mediator between God and the laity. However,in exterior organization,and in claims of Divine rights and powers,the churchly bishop boldly outstrips his heathen competitor,for as he borrows the hierarchy from his religious rivals,so he takes the imperial government as his model in outward church organization. And may it not be truly said that in these policies of super-arrogant claims of divine power and a unified close-knit government by bishops that the church of Christ was able,in the long run,to wrest victory from them all,-at least outwardly. But only outwardly; for it is but too true,as Addis has it,

> "The system which became the religion of the empire,borrowed half its contents from the empire it overcame".

Or,as more pointedly stated by Hall,

> "Christianity thus accepted political organization borrowed from persecuting Rome,and rites and usages from cults she condemned."

Or,again and finally,in the statement of Professor Tolson,

> "They took into the church the ideas,ceremonies,feasts,and customs that were most attractive in Roman paganism and the Oriental Mystery Religions. So the Church stooped to Conquer."

Unlike her Master she could not resist the offer of "the Kingdoms of this world and their glory" and while the Mystery Religions were apparently swept away before the advance of the Christian hosts,yet do we find their tenets, rites and hierarchy so deeply embedded in the Christian system that apparently,except by the aid of Modern Archaeology,we might never have surmised how much of those old-time mystery religions,as found in Eleusis,Magna Mater,Isis and Mithra, is now assimilated into our own.

As a conclusion,therefore,we realize that the Christian system is not an insert into human religious experience,but a development of the highest type,most deserving the name 'Divine'; that in the Mystery Religious cults similar truths and principles are found,but too burdened with mere myths, silly as obscene. In its absence from such,Christianity enjoyed a tremendous advantage,-having the lofty Jewish monotheism as its original soil;yet ~~that~~ much of the Christian rite and outward government is obviously an absorption from these sister Oriental graces (faiths),-an absorption,however, never acknowledged freely,for the Christian men were more exclusive in their claims on all good than discriminatingly syncretistic in practice.

Syncretism of all that is best,and its thorough assimilation is,however,the law of all true and permanent growth,-surely a divine attribute in its broad humanity and catholicity. And in this characteristic our Christian system

is surely preeminently a world faith. And in the growth of knowledge in our own day when life is ever expanding in relationship and significance, may we not hope that Christianity may, with still greater discrimination and in grateful appreciation, go on to appropriate whatever enables us in our day and light to comprehend more clearly that inspiring, electrifying truth uttered so long ago by Aratus and quoted by Paul to that poet's countrymen,

"FOR WE ARE HIS OFFSPRING"

THE PAULINE CONCEPTION OF THE RESURRECTION

By

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THE PAULINE CONCEPTION OF THE RESURRECTION

I. INTRODUCTION:

A wonderful religious experience in the Risen Christ, and the sudden and radical changes in his life led Paul to his singular conception of Christ and Christianity. At the commanding center of his contemplation of Christ, there stands the Living Christ who is also the Crucified and the Risen One. To him the death on the cross and the resurrection of Christ are inseparable facts, and both must stand together or both fail. The Risen One is the center of his theology, and the resurrection is the hope of his gospel.

Professor Mulligan says:

> "The importance attached by Paul to the death of Christ depends not simply on the fact that Jesus died, but on the fact that he who so died was afterwards the Risen One. It was not by the thought of the death of Christ as a sacrifice for sin that Paul was led to the thought of His resurrection. The process in his mind was the reverse. It was the thought of His resurrection, the thought that by it He had been proven to be the Son of God with power, which showed the peculiarity and the importance of His death. Christ Himself, the Second Adam, 'the man from heaven', is the center of the Pauline theology; and it was as the Risen Lord that He appeared to him in that character. Even were we to accept Baur's view, we should still have to explain how that death upon the cross, which in the eyes of a Jew was fatal to Messianic claims, not only lost its shame to the Apostle, but

> became to him the germinating principle of a new order of the things by which the world was to be transfigured and glorified. There would be only one solution of the difficulty, and that the solution of the resurrection."[1]

Paul had somewhat the same experience as Job. The long dark night of the spiritual struggle of Job was followed by the bright dawn of the spiritual certainty through his heart-felt experience,and he said "Now mine eye seeth thee". So Paul had his experience on the road to Damascus. And the mystery was revealed to him that Christ was alive. And then and not till then the cross became transfigured to him. Without the Living Christ the cross would be a stumbling-block; the Living Christ makes the cross stand out in the brightest morning,the splendor of the transfiguration glory.

His deep conviction concerning the resurrection of Jesus is all the way through expressed in his epistles,and by these expressions we can apprehend his overwhelming enthusiasm. His conception of God was no more that of the absentee-God,but God with power to raise the dead (I Cor.6[14]); and God both raised the Lord and will raise us up through His power.

Paul had no thought to convince us that we are immortal beings,but rather strongly emphasized the victory over death,and the joy and hope in the power of God who raised Him. It means,however,not a theory of 'triumph

1. "The Resurrection of our Lord."

over the Satan' to whom we had been subjected,but it is a peculiar presentation of God as "strong to save and mighty to deliver".

We also readily understand that his doctrine of salvation was so closely connected with the idea of death and life,that they are integral parts of the gospel scheme. Paul treats the sufferings,crucifixion,death,burial and the resurrection of Christ as processes of salvation,and these processes are applied to the Christian's life,and he regards the resurrection of Christ not merely as the indirect means of becoming believers and therefore of the subjective appropriation of salvation,but also as a direct element of the work of salvation itself,as the exaltation of the crucified as the Lord of the Christian community (Phil.2^{9}).

Paul's doctrine of Redemption goes beyond the spiritual development of each believer in this world,and completes it in the bodily redemption in the risen form (I Cor.1^{30}). Steven says:

> "Salvation is to Paul both a present and a future fact. At justification there commences a new life which continues to grow and strengthen under the power of the Spirit; but in this life the blessed realization of salvation is but begun. With the experience of God's redeeming mercy there always mingles a large element of Hope. The full fruition of redemption will be enjoyed only in the immediate presence of Christ. As expressed in Romans 8^{24}: 'For in hope we were saved; but hope that is seen is not

> hope; for who hopeth for that which he seeth? But if we hope for that which we see not,then do we with patience wait for it."

Further he says:

> "The doctrine of justification answers the question,'How can man be delivered from the burden of his sins and become the object of divine favor?' The doctrine of the Christian life answers: How can man more and more attain that Christ-likeness of character whose complete possession is the goal of his existence? The Pauline eschatology is the treatise of the deliverance of the spiritual element of the personality from the corruptible flesh,and also the positive completion of salvation in the bestowment of glorified bodies suited to the new conditions which shall surround the soul in the future life,and in the glorification and perfection of the whole personality after the image of Christ."[1]

To Paul the earthly Christ has no significance when compared with the Heavenly Christ. The Risen Christ is the center of his thought,and hope,and salvation. Truly he says:

> "If Christ hath not been raised,then is our preaching vain,your faith also is vain. Yes,and we are found false witnesses of God,because we witnessed of God that he raised up Christ."

No doubt Paul had a profound spiritual insight to lay hold on the truth of theology,but that does not necessarily mean that Paul was a great theologian. One may speculate on and contemplate the deep thing of the life,but he may not be a philosopher. Even though we grant that Paul was a theolog-

1. The Pauline Theology

ian,he can better appeal and satisfy us when we think him as otherwise,and we cannot expect him to give us a system of theology worked out carefully in the study,since Paul as a missionary scarcely had any time to sit down and make a well-balanced theology. He is through and through a man of piety and full of Holy Spirit,-knows nothing but Him crucified. Deissmann well says of Paul:

> "What is best in Paul belongs not to theology,but to religion. It is true Paul was the pupil of theologians,and learned how to employ them,indeed,as a Christian missionary. But we must not for this reason rank the tent-maker of Tarsus along with Origen,Thomas Aquinas and Schleiermacher. His place is with Amos,the herdsman of Tekoa,and Terstoegen,the ribbon-weaver of Mulheim. Paul,the theologian,looks backward towards Rabbinism. As a religious genius, Paul's outlook is forward into a future of universal history."

Especially is this true of his doctrine of the resurrection.

> "No part of the apostle's teaching is developed with so little of systematic fullness as the doctrine of the future life",

Stevens says.

> "Upon the subject of the resurrection he wrote at some length (I Cor.XV) in order to remove the objections and difficulties which existed in the Greek minds in regard to it. His statements of the resurrection are rather incidental."[1]

1. The Pauline Theology.

Paul as a Jew was imbued with ideas of Apocalyptic and Christian tradition of the resurrection,but as he came in contact with the Hellenic people,he somewhat modifies and develops the conception to meet them. When addressing Jewish audiences,he emphasizes the fact that God raised up Jesus according to certain promises recorded in the Old Testament (cf Acts 13^{32f},26^{6ff}) and at the same time bases his doctrine of the resurrection on its necessity,and on the relationship of Jesus and the human race (I Cor. 15^{13}). When,however,he came face to face with the Greek minds,his experience was entirely different. The philosophers of Athens met his categorical assertion of the resurrection of Jesus not merely with a refusal to credit his statement, but with a plain derision of the very idea (Acts 17^{32}, cf 26^{8}). It was doubtless the calm mockery of the Athenian Stoics that made him feel that his mission to them was hopeless (Acts 18^{1}), and caused him when writing afterwards to the essentially Greek community of Corinthian Christians,to expound fully his doctrine of the resurrection.

Under such circumstances,we hardly expect him to give us a systematic theology of the resurrection,and it is faithful to Paul to acknowledge that he was a good,religious fighter ready for combat with any opponent ne might meet. He was not like Erasmus,indifferent to the religious agitation and contented with bookish knowledge,but he was like Luther

and was a genius,and was rooted and grounded in the truth, and the truth had emancipated him from dogmatism. He was always on the toe and heel of progress and development.

Charles says:

> "In the writings of this apostle we find no single eschatological system. His ideas in this respect were in a state of development. He began with an expectation of the future that he had inherited largely from Judaism,but under the influence of great formative Christian conceptions,he parted gradually from this and entered on a process of development in the course of which the heterogeneous elements were for the most part silently dropped."[1]

It is safe to say that the doctrine of the resurrection is not a production of his theology,but it is the hope and reality upon which he founds his faith. His meaning is different from other disciples when he says 'Faith in Christ'. To him it is the faith in Christ,-the Risen One. And this faith is not a passive act of obedience,but active.

Pfleiderer says:

> "When Paul had once come to make faith a laying hold of and appropriating the principle of salvation for our own principles of life,he had come very near to the final step of apprehending it as the development of this principle in the whole course of the live of salvation. For in this sense,faith is no longer a merely passive attitude,but a spontaneous active power."[2]

And faith is vitally connected by the mystic preposition

1. Eschatology: Hebrew,Jewish and Christian
2. The Primitive Christianity

with the spiritual Christ- the Risen One- and the resurrection of Jesus means unspeakable joy. It is the dynamic source of all his religious life,and even to think of the risen Christ gives him inspiration,and thence his theology flows out.

The fact of the resurrection,therefore,is not an indispensable subject of the Pauline theology,but an impetus to his faith.

II. Who Were the Conscientious Objectors to the Resurrection?

When Paul wrote the letter to Corinth,he certainly had some particular persons in him mind to whom he expounded the doctrine of the Resurrection,as an able preacher keeps always some persons of the congregation in his mind when he is making a sermon. It pays us to study the people to whom Paul wrote his splendid letter on the great doctrine of Resurrection,in order to understand better the frame of Paul's mind and the doctrine itself. "The Epistle begins with the subject of Christ crucified(1^{13},2^{5}); it ends with that of Christ Risen -15. This chapter has been called the earliest doctrinal essay and it is the only part of the letter which deals directly with doctrine.

Plummer says,

> "There is here no trace of a question asked by the Corinthians; this subject Paul starts himself,in consequence of information which has reached him. Thus the letter begins and ends in a similar way. At the outset,he treated of a subject which had been reported to him (1^{11}), and he closes with one which again was suggested by what he had heard (1^{12}),- that there were certain people at Corinth who denied the doctrine of the Resurrection."

Such is the nature and motive of the letter written for them. Now then,we go a little further and investigate what was the condition under which the church of Corinth was situated, and it may help us to know at least within the bounds of prob-

ability,the personages of the deniers. The following statements are quoted from Christian Life in the Primitive Church:[1]

> "Corinth was a seat of the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus and Octavia which recalled the Roman foundation of the city. But the freedmen of Caesar were quick to adopt Grecian manners,although they did not become really Greek. The motley population,thrown together from all the nationalities of the earth, lacked every bond which common religion and custom could give it. The Jew turned his steps towards the synagogue,the Egyptian towards the magnificent temple of Isis,while Phrygians worshipped in the sanctuary of the 'Mother of Gods'. The greatest attractive power for all,however,belonged to the Temple of Aphrodite,with its world-famous cult of unchastity. 'To live in Corinthian fashion' was a by-word for every kind of debauchery."

> "The over- valuation of the Spirit avenges itself in a non-spiritual and morally indifferent treatment of worship. 'Spiritualist easily becomes Spiritist'."

There seems to have existed the wrong valuation which was set upon the operation of Spirit. The common notion that the more wonderful is also the more divine was to be met with in the Christian community as well as elsewhere. Indeed,when once the Spirit came to be looked upon as an instance it was only to be expected that the greatest demonstration of the Spirit should be found where the great disturbance of natural functions took place. Here the moral worthlessness of such

1. Ernest Von Dobschutz

a view came clearly to light. It recalled the old heathen matic too visibly,which,out of the mouth of priesteeses in a state of narcotic stupefaction or ecstasy,claimed to know the oracle of God. The church members were mostly of no social standing; there were few,if any,philosophers,or governing officials,or aristocrats (I Cor.1$^{26-28}$); some were slaves,though not necessarily,or probably,of the lowest class,but like the free men,able and vigorous and money-making traders 'on the way to earn emancipation'(Ramsey) (I Cor 7^{21}); some,at any rate,had been utterly vicious (I Cor 6^{11}). Certainly they were not all poor; some might be 'hundry',but others could be 'drunken'. (I Cor.11^{21})

Among these constituent elements there were party struggles and from this unhappy situation we can learn something of the people whom Paul met with his doctrine. The situation was no novelty in a Greek atmosphere. "In the Greek cities each favorite orator had his group of admiring partisans; so,in the Corinthian church,some attached themselves specially to Apollos,others to Paul and Peter."[1] And we can readily see that first there were the Paulinists. Hayes says that "We credit them with loyalty to the founder of the church and to all of his teachings. They believed in his authority and were satisfied with his theology. Second,there were the Apollonians. They prided themselves upon their subtleties in the exegesis of the scripture. They professed to enjoy a deeper insight into the Christian mysteries. They claimed to understand and to be able to

1. Massie: Commentary on I & II Cor. in "New Century Bible"

expound Christianity as a world culture. They had great pleasure in eloquent periods and rhetorical presentations of the truth. They thought that Apollos was a much more impressive orator than Paul,and they believed that the Alexandrian Philosophy in its synthesis of revealed and heathen truth was the highest reach of human wisdom. They wanted their preachers to be oratorical and philosophical,and they were sure that that would be the only way in which they could appeal to the better classes and could reach and convert the people of Corinth. Third,there were the Cephians. Their chief authority was not Paul nor Apollos,but Peter; and since they called him by that Hebrew name,"Cephas",we may suppose that they themselves were Hebrews,and probably Hebrews from Palestine. They were prone to insist upon apostolic authority. This party was the center of the Anti-Pauline propaganda in the church. 'Fourth,there were the Christians. The very fact that they adopted this name as their exclusive property might indicate that they were the most narrow and intolerant of the factions in Corinth. They boasted that they did not take their theology from any human teacher,like Cephas or Paul or Apollos,but only from the Lord." 'Godet thinks that some of them were docetists,and distinguished between human Jesus and the divine Christ. The cry, 'Jesus be anathema!' (I Cor.12^{3}),expressed their abhorence of the worship which recognized any authority 'after the flesh'. Probably,they were Judaizers with a

vengeance and arrogated a higher even than apostalic authority."[1]

Then the question comes to us, Who were the objectors among them to the doctrine which he expounded with such force and fullness in the fifteenth chapter of the First Corinthians? This question cannot be answered from the internal evidence since there is no hint in the text (K Cor.15[12]) or elsewhere that Christ's bodily resurrection was doubted by the Corinthian skeptics,but the conjecture of the scholars on this point may help us to at least approach the subject.

"It has been pointed out already",Robertson and Plummer say, "that the Tives were almost certainly Gentiles,brought up under the influence of the Greek Philosophy,not Jews with Sadducean prejudices. Possibly,they held that matter was evil,and that it was incredible that a soul,once set free by death,would return to its unclean prison. Or they may have been influenced by a popular form of Epicurean materialism. They had been brought up in the belief that at death existence either ceases entirely or becomes so shadowy as to be worthless; in any case the body perishes utterly. The idea of a glorified body,in which the highest part of man's nature would be supreme,without opposition or hindrance from any other part,was beyond even Plato's vision,and they could not attain to it.[2]

1. "Paul and His Epistles"
2. "International Commentary on First & Second Corinthians"

Again,Heinrich A.W.Meyer ventured to say that "these deniers had been formerly Sadducees,and had brought forward again their Sadducean views in connection with Christianity (so recently Flatt,following Heumann,Michaelis,Starr, Knapp; and comp.earlier,Calvin and Lightfoot) is not to be assumed,partly because,in general,Sadduceeism andChristianity are too much antagonistic in their nature to mingle with each other,and also because in that case Paul could not have based his refutation upon the resurrection of Christ (Acts 4^2). Nor is it probable that the opponents had been Epicureans,for it is plain from vv.32-34 that the Epicurean turn which they had taken was not the ground,but the consequence of their denial of the resurrection; as,indeed,Epicureanism in general is such an Anti-Christian element that,supposing it had been the source of the denial,Paul would certainly have entered upon a discussion of its principles,in so far as they were opposed to faith in the resurrection. It is certain at the same time that the deniers were not Jewish Christians; for with them the belief in the Messiah stood in the most necessary connection with the belief in the resurrection. (Comp.Acts 23^6) On the contrary,it must have been Gentile Christians (Bauer,de Wette,Van Heugel,Ewald,and many others) to whom the resurrection seemed impossible,and who therefore (35,36) denied it. And it is probable,at all events,that they were persons of philosophical training (Beza,Grotius, Estius,and others), because they must in asserting their

thesis, ὅτι ἀνάστασις νεκρῶν οὐκ ἔστιν, have caused some sensation, which in such a place as Corinth, is hardly conceivable on the part of men, strangers to any degree of philosophical education and practice in dialectics; and because the anti-materialistic of the matter, which Paul gives to combat the doubts of his opponents (35ff), makes it probable that the antagonism on the part of the seeptics was a spiritualistic one, i.e., an antagonism resting on the philosophic ground that the restoration of the matter of the body was impossible. . . . . But to which of the four parties in Corinth did these four parties belong? That they were not of the Petrine or Judaistic party is self-evident; neither were they of the Christ-party (as Neander Olshausen holds them to have been), for Christ had so often and so distinctly taught the doctrine of resurrection of the body, that the denial of it would have been at the most palpable variance with the ἐγὼ Χριστοῦ εἰμι. Nor yet were they of the party of Paul, seeing that the doctrine of the resurrection was a most essential article of the Pauline Gospel. There remains, therefore, only the party of Apollos (so also Rabizer, Maier), some of whom having been converted doubtless, only after the apostle had ceased to labour in Corinth or having come thither subsequently from other quarters, may have found what he had taught in Corinth regarding the resurrection of the dead not compatible with their philosophical standpoint, and hence, -being incited to it, perhaps, through party variance- altogether denied that there was a resurrec-

tion of the dead.[1]

If this is in the line of right reasoning,and I believe it is,then we proceed to find the conception of the resurrection as conceived by the Gentile Christians at Corinth,and we may get a side-light from it.

A. Contemporary thought

It seems impossible to deny that there were Greek and Egyptian trends of thought on the subject. It may not have direct reference to this discussion,but it is worth while knowing the Egyptian conception of the after-death; "Beside the ka,each person was thought to have a bai or soul",Barton says,in 'The Religion of Egypt', "which could be seen,and which also left the body at death. This was often conceived to exist in the form of a bird,and it was thought that,while the mourners were lamenting the departed,he might be sitting among the birds of a neighboring tree watching them. This conception continued into Christian times,for in Christian cemeteries in Nubia 'the souls of the departed in the form of stone birds are perched on the grave-stones'. "The life of the departed was,according to the most widely accepted view, but a continuance of the life on earth. The child remained a child and the old man remained an old man. According to another conception,which apparently originated in some part of Egypt,the dead lived in a lower world,which,like Egypt, was a narrow land bounded by deserts through which a river flowed."

1. Commentary on First and Second Corinthians

In summing up the essential idea of the Egyptian conception of immortality,Reisner says that "the ghost or spirit of the man preserved the personality and the form of the man in the existence adter death; that this spirit had the same desires,the same pleasures,the same necessities,and death was a duplicate of life on earth. Not until Christianity came, offering eternal life free and without price,did the common people find at last a road open to equal immortality with the great men of the earth. Alongside this naive notion of the after-death,there survived among the powerful sect of Sadducees,an idea of an empty and meaningless ghost existence."

Against this materialistic idea of the resurrection, there was not,as in the case of our Lord's answer to the Sadducees,a conception of a shadowy Hades,but rather a belief in the immortality of the soul,conceived along the line of the later Greek philosophy. "Greek thought valued the intellect above all." Steir says, "The affections were associated in that philosophy with the life of the body; they belonged to the temporal,not to the eternal element in man's nature. To Greek thought ἀπαθεία, incapacity to feel,was a characteristic of the divine,and the life of God consisted in θεωρία in pure intellectual activity apart from feeling. Νούς only,the intellectual element in man which was held to be most akin to the divine,would certainly be immortal."

Between these extremities of the conception of the Resurrection,Paul ploughed through and made his own theory. He

is not a compromiser of the two entirely different antagonistic views,but stood aloft,above the two sides. His doctrine rather transcends all,and it stands by itself,- that is,the resurrection of the body.

B. Jewish Christians,their views of the Resurrection:

Though Jess were not deniers as the Gentile Christians, but as much as they were under the influence of the current thought of the eschatology of Apocryphal and Apocalyptic literature during the first century,B.C. and A.D.,it is interesting and profitable to set this view against the Pauline conception that we might appreciate the Pauline doctrine better.

In the summary of the moral sanctions of the second century B.C.,the writers on the ethics of the Jewish Apocryphal literature say that "the belief in a future life emerges very clearly to view in this century,and is taught by all the writers except Sirach,Tobit,and Baruch. There is a general agreement that the eternal destiny of the soul is determined by the character of its life in the present world. As to the nature of the future life,there is diversity of teaching. Some of the writers conceive of the righteous as dwelling forever in the Messianic kingdom upon a renovated earth; others fix a time -duration to that kingdom,and postulate a blessed life beyond. All who have any vision of a hereafter agree in relegating the wicked to eternal fire and torment. And from the literature,during the first century B.C.,the writers state that as to the resurrection there is divergence

of teaching. The Book of Wisdom,as we have seen,probably does not teach it, certainly not in a physical form. The Similitudes of Enoch and II Macc. look for the resurrection of all Israel,but En. 91-104 and Pss.Sol. only for that of the righteous Israelites. The Alexandrian II Macc.understands it to be physical,but in the Similitudes it is conceived under a more spiritualized form. There is no evicence that the doctrine of total annihilation was taught. And during the first century A.D.,there was still diversity of opinion as to the nature of resurrection. Sib. Or. (4) holds to the doctrine of a physical resurrection,with a more spiritual view."[1]

Thus we find that the doctrine of the resurrection which was current amongst the cultured Pharisees in the century immediately preceding the Christian Era,was of a truly spiritual nature,and the first century A.D. the resurrection of the soul,or spirit clothed in a body unlike the present ἕτερον σῶμα is set forth by Josephus as the doctrine of the Pharisees (B.J.II 8 14).

We have no means of knowing that these Jews were the colleagues of Paul in the debate on the resurrection,but it is possible to think that Paul used this train of thought and developed it into his own.

1. Maldwyn and Hughes

III. Eschatology and Messianism

Paul as a Hebrew of the Hebrews and a Pharisee,lived in and no doubt shared with his own people the belief that the time of the Messianic appearance was to be soon. This Messianic hope to Paul was incarnated in the person of Christ, whom God had raised from the dead,and the only possible reason to believe that Jesus was Christ-Messiahwas to be seen in His resurrection. (Romans 1^4) and therefore ,if we want to get a clear view of Paul's doctrine of the resurrection,it is necessary to know the eschatological Messianism of Paul.

(a) Hebrew Eschatological Messianism:

There was in the Old Testament a prophetic idea of the Messiah and this idea was attached to the House of David,and its descendants,but we shall not discuss this view of Messiah since it is not directly connected with the resurrection, though Paul mentioned that Christ was in the line of the House of David,and the view which vitally connects with the present doctrine is the doctrine of a suffering Messiah.

"There were passages in the Old Testament which teach deep lessons as to the Divine purposes that are accomplished through the sufferings of the righteous,and fore-shadowings even of one preeminent vicarious sufferer. But so far as we can trace the connection of ideas in these passages and their contexts,there does not seem to have been any clear reference to the Messiah and his atoning work in the thought of the writers. The suggestion for their prophecies seems to have come either through individual experience,or (as

notably in the latter half of Isaiah) from the belief that, through the affliction which the better part of the Israelite nation was undergoing, its purification and restoration were being effected."[1]

When we come to the Extra-Canonical Apoxalypses, there is no trace of the idea that Messiah would undergo suffering, and the evidence supplied by the Gospels seems to show conclusively that no such belief existed among the Jews at the time of the Lord's ministry. But "as a matter of fact, the resurrection formed a part of the Messianic hope (Isa. 24^{19}; Daniel 12^{2}); especially were those who died as martyrs in the cause of the Law expected to share in the future glory of Israel (Isaiah 26^{19})"[2] (Kaufmann Kohler)

Thus not only the doctrine of a suffering Messiah has led Paul to his own conception of the resurrection, but also the eschatological idea of the Messianic hope in general was the influential and ruling factor, andthe period of B.C.200 - A.D.80 and the authorities for Jewish eschatology at that should be mentioned here and we give to them a careful consideration. The authorities as follow:

2d Century B.C. - Sirach
" - Ethiopic Enoch
" - Daniel
" - Ethiopic Enoch 83-90; 91-104
" - Tobit
" - Sybylline Oracles
" - Testaments of the 12 Patriarchs - Apocalyptic Sections, Bet. B.C. 140 & (A.C.30
" - Judith

1. V.H.Stanton: article in H.D.B.
2. Article in Jewish Encyc.

1st Century B.C.	-	Ethiopic Enoch 37-70
"	-	Maccabees
"	-	Psalms of Solomon
"	-	2 Maccabees
1st Century A.D.	-	Book of Jubilees
"	-	Assumption of Moses
"	-	Philo
"	-	Slavonic Enoch
1st Century A.D.	-	Book of Wisdom
"	-	Maccabees

Apocalypse of Baruch)
Book of Baruch)
4 E"ra)
Ascension of Isaiah)

Composite works written partly before and after A.D.70. Part of Book of Baruch may belong to the 2d Century B.C.

(Quoted from H.D.B., article of)
(S.D.F.Salmond)

From these writings, we can gather in a sketchy way the general idea on Eschatological Messianism. We find that there are many conceptions of the Messiah:

1. "The Messiah - conceived merely as a passive though supreme member of the Messianic Kingdom. He is so represented in Eth.En.83-90, where his appearance is largely otiose, and due probably to literary reminiscence. He rules over a transfigured Israel, with the Heavenly Jerusalem set up as the centre of his Kingdom, and his reign is apparently forever. In the first century of the Christian Era, this conception reappeared twice in Apoc.Baruch 27-30, where his rule is of temporary duration, and in 4 Ezra 7-28, where he dies after a reign of 400 years. In the second and third cases the Messiah appears after the Messianic woes and judgment; in the third, simultaneously with the first resurrection.

2.The Messiah - conceived as an active warrior,who slays his enemies with his own hand. This conception is attested in the Or.Sibyl. 3:652-660,which belongs to the second century B.C., in the Pss. of Solomon 17:23,26, where the Messiah is to be of Davidic descent -but this book belongs properly to the next division; in Apoc. Bar.36-40; also in another independent writing in the same book,3-74; 4 Ezra 10:60 -12:35.

3. The Messiah - conceived more loftily as one who slays his enemies by the word of his mouth,and rules by virtue of his justice,faith,and holiness (cf Ps.Sol.17:27,31,39,41). A similar conception is found in 4 Ezra 13. In both writings his reign is probably of temporary duration.

4. The Messiah - conceived as supernatural,as eternal Ruler and Judge of Mankind (Eth,En.37-70). This conception of the Messiah is logically in some measure a development of that in the third division. It is the most sublime conception of the Messiah to be found in all Jewish literature outside of Canon." (R.H.Charles)

In the Apocalyptic Messianism of the Pharisees,the line of development of Messianism for a considerable period does not seem to have followed the resurrection of the dead already noted in Daniel 12:2,fruitful as it was later to become,but kept true to its uneschatological and mundane limitations. But in the later Pharisaism as expressed in the Assumption of Moses, The Secret of Enoch,the Apocalypse of Baruch,and Esdras, "It is apparent

that by the time the Messianic hope had reached this stage of its development,immortality,at least of the righteous,had become one of its integral parts. The passages from the age of the present misery to the age of glory and joy logically involved an emphasis upon the continuance of human life,not only in its naticnal,but in its individual form. The Wisdom of Solomon presents this hope in perhaps its most perfect form (Wis.Sol.3:1-3). This hope of immortality was by no means the child of Messianism."[1]

We may bring a witness here and let him give us some testimony on this point. "They believe",Josephus says,"that there will be under the earth rewards and punishments,according as men have lived virtuously or viciously in this life; and the latter souls are to be detained in an everlasting prison,but the former will have power to live again." Ant.18[1,3,5]. War.8[2-14]. And he says in the Mewish War that Pharisees believe that "the souls of good men only are removed into other bodies." (2[8-14]).

Thus we can see that the incipient idea of the resurrection was introduced at this time into the Messianic Concept. Here we find some connection and relation between the current Messianic hope and the resurrection,and we also see that there was a limit that the Pharisaic eschatological Messianism could not pass. And when we study the elements of it,it is plain why it was so.

Mathew gives us a reliable result of his study on eschatological Messianism found in the Apocalyptic literature of Pharis-

1. Shailer Mathews: The Messianic Hopes in the New Testament

aism; "The belief that the good age is to be introduced by God or his representatives through some sort of catastrophe, and the introduction of the new kingdom of the Jews,which is also understood to be the kingdom of God and Heaven. This kingdom is the great characteristic of the new age. It comes like it,not by way of evolution,but as God's gift. A variation at this point is the introduction of a Messianic kingdom of limited duration - four hundred or a thousand years- which is followed by the final establishment of God's control over all men. It is to be borne in mind that the Pharisees,as distinct from the Zealots did not desire to inaugurate this kingdom,but to wait God's pleasure. The later Rabbis,it is true, were swept from this position,and under Akiba did attempt the establishment of a new Jewish and Messianic state by force of arms, but the Pharisees simply waited for God's initiative."[1]

Such devout Jews in keeping the law as Pharisees,could not but think of the future in terms of judgment and salvation from that destiny,and this whole process would be accomplished by Divine Providence and not through external factors as the Zealots expected. Their trust in God and goodness in keeping the law must find justification in some heavenly reward. Under such stress of national and religious disturbance,their thought became intensified and the mode of thinking turned to God's victory over the dead who faithfully kept the law. By their spiritual satisfaction,they formulated a practical theology to identify the idea of righteousness,which they clearly set against the wickedness,and

1. "The Messianic Hope in the New Testament"

its final destiny,with the Resurrection. They had been rooted and grounded in the idea of Righteousness,and this idea bloomed in the midst of the chilly pessimistic atmosphere into the happy thought of the Resurrection,and their strong conviction could not lead them elsewhere than to the overcoming Power of God. Do we not find here somehow the same trend of thought as in the Pauline conception of salvation, Yes,and that is why Paul was a Pharisee and he could not do or be otherwise.

Thus,I have tried in a brief way to connect the idea of Messianic hope and resurrection,and also point out that resurrection was the final outcome of the trust in the overcoming power of God.

IV. Mystery Religion and Pauline Idea of Resurrection

Turning from the Jewish theology and inherited idea,our minds now concentrate upon an entirely different world,which Paul came in contact with and tried to master by his spiritual sword.

Thus far,we have studied Paul as reared and cherished entirely in Jewish ideas,but we cannot confine him in a narrow circle;if we do,we may miss the margin of his thought and cannot read between the lines.

Paul as a citizen of Rome had lived in the Greek world and the Roman world at the time when the mystery religions prevailed and the liturgical flrmulae and technical terms of their rituals were common. It is,historically speaking,impossible to ignore this mystic current around Paul,and when we think of the

Resurrection,Paul not only explained it by authentic facts, but told us the future life in a very mystic drapery. And if we see the doctrine of Resurrection in the light of the Mystery Religions we come to know the tendency of Paul's thought concerning the doctrine.

"Paul's Mysticism",Gardner says,"nowhere has fuller sway than in his treatment of the doctrine of the resurrection. Resurrection was to him more than resurrection; it was,as the word which he employed suggests,an upstanding."[1]

Judging from his cosmopolitan,open-mindedness we are not mistaken in saying that Paul's attitude towards this whole matter was very liveral,and the influence of the mysteries was unconscicus in his mind. "There is some significance", Kennedy says,"for Paul's attitude in the position of Philo,also a Jew, who,,while manifesting a dislike of the mystery cults,has nevertheless been powerfully affected by some of their ideas."[2] Therefore it is indispensable that this paper state what were the main pagan mysteries and what their main features.

Anrich gives us a summary of the details,and I ahall quote from his work: "Das Antike Mysterian Wesen". He says that "the Mysteries have three notable characteristics. First, all have some rites of purification,whether ceremonial or moral, through which the Mystae have to pass. Second,they are all mysteries of communion with some deity,who through them comes into relation with his votaries. Third,all extend their view

1. The Religious Experience of St.Paul
2. St.Paul's Conception of the Last Things.

beyond the present life to that which is to come,and secure for the initiated a happy reception in the world which lies beyond the grave." And the same judicious writer,in giving reasons for the prevalance of the Mysteries under the Roman Empire,says that they were built upon asense of sin and misery; and they brought in a hope of a future life. The idea that there is no future life is wholly foreign to the Mystery religions. And "mystery religions",aays Lake, "all made the same offer -life through death,given by the mysteries which secured association with a divine saviour,who had himself also passed through death. But even though some of these Mysteries -notably those connected with Attis and Osiris- spoke of an actual resurrection of the dead god,they rarely seem to have conceived the idea of a general resurrection of the dead on the lines of Jewish belief. In Mithraism there was,alongside of the moral typical teaching of the journey of the soul through the heavens,the doctrine of a resurrection of the dead,at the return of Mithra."[1] Again M.Cumont says that Mithra will redescend and raise up mankind. They will all come forth from their tombs,resume their former appearance,and recognize each other. The entire race will be reunited in a great assembly,and the god of truth will separate the good from the bad. And the Greeks expected that after death the spirit,which was divine,at all events after initiation into the Mysteries,would be set free from the trammels of the flesh,which it left behind. The flesh remained in the grave,and was gradually dissolved into the elements of which it

1. The Resurrection of Jesus Christ.

has been composed. The spirit went through the heavens armed with the secret knowledge (γνῶσις) which enabled it to pass the various doors and their guardians, and as it went it left behind at each stage something more of the things which limit or defile."

It is far from my intention to seek a meeting point where the Pauline Resurrection and that of Mystery Religions join hands, but it can be inferred from the above authoritative statements that Mystery Religions had exercised some influence on the mind of Paul and he could not get away from it. Then how much in its detailed points was Paul indebted,

That question leads us from the general to the particular contacts of the rival religions. And when we take up the mystic terms one by one, we shall learn what underlying convictions Paul had in formulating his doctrine of resurrection.

It is a rewarding task to study the meaning of πνεῦμα in the light of the Mystery Religions. πνεῦμα is mentioned in Pauline epistles one-hundred and fifty times and all instances except about four refer to the direct influence of God. Paul identified πνεῦμα with the indwelling Christ (Rom. 8[9,10]). Literature Reitzenstein, in his famous research[1] into the Hermetic Literature and its parallels in magical papri and contemporary Pagan mystery cults, asserts that Paul's various uses of πνεῦμα are all to be found in Hellenistic religious documents; that his antithesis between πνεῦμα πνευματικόν and ψυχικός

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was current before Paul's time; that πνευματικός was a fixed religious conception in the sphere of the mystic faith of Paganism; and that νοῦς had already become an important religious term, the direct equivalent of πνεῦμα.

It is noteworthy that all the passages in Paul can be explained from Hellenic usages. πνεῦμα contrasted with σῶμα and σάρξ; identification of πνεῦμα with ψυχή. Reitzenstein has shown to us that in the documents of the Hellenistic Mystery Religions πνεῦμα and νοῦς were used to denote the Divine life in itself.

As to the idea of the spiritual body, it seems that Paul was not the inventor of the word but he adopted it from the vocabulary of the religions of that time. "It is, in fact", Gardner says, a view which, first arising in that rude state of culture called by Tylor animism, has prevailed ever since, at least in some strata of society. Among the primitive races each man is regarded as having, besides in his visible corporeal frame, an inner, ghostlike body, which in sleep or in trance leaves the grosser tenement and flits into other regions of the world or the realm of spirits which lies beyond the world. This ghost-soul it is which quits the body at death. As to what becomes of it, there have been all sorts of conflicting beliefs."

To be sure the animistic idea of πνεῦμα was a ruling one and had such an influence as stated above, but the question

is whether Paul blindly adopted that word with such a content or put a peculiar meaning into the word. In other words, whether he transformed its significance. Paul gives us an entirely different meaning of πνεῦμα by a different association. When a Christian died unto sin at baptism, there came an inward communion of life- a dynamic power,-the heavenly πνεῦμα (Rom.6), and the effect of πνεῦμα is ζωή- the eschatological idea of "life".

As to πνευματικόν ,there may be some influence which led him to use it. Reitzenstein says that Gnostic categories: σαρκικοί and ψυχικοί, and πνευματικοί cannot have had their origin in Paul's usage (I Cor.3[1]),but must be due to the Hellenistic Mystery Religions,which recognized three classes,unbelievers,proselytes,and τέλειοι (or πνευματικοί).[1] And it is admitted by the scholars that Paul's use of in I Corinthians 3[1] implies its equivalence to τέλειοι in 3[6].

In the opening prayer of the Liturgy of Mithra, the aspirant after the vision of God makes supplication: "For to-dat I, a mortal born of mortal womb,exalted by Almighty power and incoruptible right-hand,with immortal Aeon and the Lord of the crowns of fire,I who have been sanctified by sacred rites,while,for a little,my human natural powers stay behind. --- Stand still,mortal nature of man. Here stands clearly and describes the human nature as apart from

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This double beings of Mystery Religions have a corresponding phenomena in Paul's mind. But we shall not overlook the difference between the conception of the Mystery Religions and that of Paul. Paul never used πνευματικός as having in any sense ceased to be true man, while in pagan religious experience it is usually the case. The possession of πνεῦμα is in Paul's eyes the normal, abiding condition of the Christian.

As to the death.

We grant that the baptismal rite of Mystery religions was common at the time of the Lord and Paul. And there are many eminent scholars who have put strong emphasis on the fact that Paul links the rite of baptism to the experience of death and resurrection with Christ, and would refer the connection to the hints of a dying to live which they profess to find in the Mystery cults."[1] In the Pauline Epistles baptism is twice used in connection with dying with Christ (Rom. 6[3]) and here Paul has changed the significance of baptism from the quasi-physical conception of the rite to redemptive faith in Christ. He associates baptism with the resurrection of Christ, and gives up entirely initiative idea of Mystery Religions.

Lastly, something should be said about the σωματικός πνευματικός in connection with Mystery Religions. Since it holds an important place in the discussion of the resurrection.

1. H.A.A.Kennedy: St Paul and Mystery Religions

Reitzenstein holds that the notion of σωματικόν πνευματικόν has its root in Hellenistic Mystery Religions. The passages to which he refers are of a highly philosophical character. The one speaks of the necessity of "tearing off the tunic which you are wearing, the robe woven of ignorance."

In Cop. Hermet., 13^{14}, Tat, who has just been regenerated, asks if his transfigured σῶμα will ever suffer dissolution. His father assured him that the former body was subject to disintegration, but that which has come from the birth of true being is indissoluble and immortal. You do not recognise that you are now θεός and a child of the One. And Cumont says:

> "Such scholars as Reitzenstein and Wendland bring the Pauline conception of
> into direct connection with the idea of the heavenly garments, which in various phases of Oriental religion, purified souls receive in their ascent through the spheres toward their abode in the infinite light."

Connecting the Pauline conception of σωματικόν πνευματικόν with that of δόξα of Old Testament and Apocalypses, Kennedy says that Paul's metaphors of "putting on Christ" (Gal. 3^{27}). cannot be regarded as a true parallel to his speculations on the 'spiritual organism', but must rather be compared with such Old Testament passages as Psalm 132^{9}:

> "Let thy priests be clothed with righteousness"

He goes on to say that in connection with I. Cor. 15^{49} we saw that the εἰκών of the heavenly was virtually equivalent to

the σ. πν. And Philippians 3^{21} is evidence that the character of the σ. πν. is δόξα ".

Natural result of this is that Psul's vision on the road to Damascus was crystalized into that 'spiritual body' How did Paul get this peculiar conception of δόξα, It only can be conjectured that it may be derived from the "Persian idea of Hellenic dress".

Mysticism has a wide scope of meaning. It includes the quasi-physical conception of the spiritual world, and also in its highest and rational sense, the Christian view of the spiritual factors and phenomena working in the individual soul. And we have found that there is a vast difference between the pantheistic and Christian mysticism. Paul stands loftily above the naive idea of the latter. He is the Christian mystic. He put in the earthly vessel of the Mhstery Religions the heavenly treasure of the glorious message of Jesus Christ who died and was raised again.

The Nature and the state of Resurrection has been purposely delayed to enter the core of the subject since we realise the vastness and the spiritual depth of the same, and also lest we should interpret him in our onw idea. Biologically speaking, we may say that Paul was a 'sport', yet it is true to that science to investigate the environment and the heritage. This truth may apply to the religious genius.

The resurrection was not a new thing to Paul. He was rather in the midst of that current flowing in Old Testament and Apocalyptic literature. And it is very helpful to glance at the idea of the resurrection as held by Hebrews at that time.

Like all ancient people, the early Hebrews believed that the dead go down into the underworld and live there a colorless existence (Comp. Isa. 14^{15-19}; Ezek. 32^{21-30}). Only an occasional person, and he an especially fortunate one, like Enoch or Elijah, could escape from Sheol, and these were taken to heaven to the abode of Jehoveh, where they become angels (Comp. Slavonic 22). In the book of Job, first the longing for a resurrection is expressed (14^{13-15}), and then, if the Masoretic text may be trusted, a passing conviction that such a resurrection will occur ($19^{25,26}$). The older Hebrew conception of life retarded the nation so entirely as a unit that no individual mortality or immortality was considered.

Jeremiah (31^{29}) and Ezekiel (18) had contended that the individual was the moral unit, and Job's hopes were based on this idea.

A different view, which made a resurrection unnecessary, was held by the authors of Ps. 49 and 123, who believed that at death only the wicked went to Sheol and that the souls of the righteous went directly to God. This, too, seems based on views analogous to those of Jeremiah and Ezekiel, and probably

was not widely held.

In the long run the old national point of view asserted itself in the form of Messianic hopes. These gave rise to a belief in a resurrection in order that more might share in the glory of the Messianic kingdom. This hope first finds expression in Isa.26[19], a passage which Cheney dates about 334 B.C. The hope was cherished for the faithful Israelites. In Daniel 12[1-4] (about 165 B.C.) a resurrection of "Many that sleep in the dust" is looked forward to. This resurrection includes both righteous and wicked, for some will awake to everlasting life; others to "shame and everlasting contempt."

In the earliest part of the Ethiopic Enoch (1-36) there is a great advance in the interpretation of Daniel, although the book is of earlier date. Chapter 22d contains elaborate description of Sheol, telling how it is divided into four parts, two of which receive two classes of the righteous; the others two classes of wicked. Of these, three classes are to experience a resurrection. One class of the wicked had been already judged and had received its punishment. In 2d Maccabees, the belief that all Israelites will be resurrected finds expression (comp.6[26],7[9-36],14[26]).

In the next Enoch apocalypse (Ethiopic Enoch 83[90]), composed a few years after Daniel, it was thought that only the righteous Israelites would experience a resurrection, and

the body was to be subsequently transformed. This writer realized that the earth was not a fit place for Jahveh's permanent kingdom,and so the conception of a heavenly Jerusalem appeared,of which the earthly Jerusalem is the prototype.

Against this view some of the later psalmists uttered a protest declaring that a resurrection was impossible (comp Ps.88^{10}; 115^{17}).

In spite of this protest,however,the idea persisted. The next Enoch apocalypse (Ethiopic Enoch 91-10^{4}) looked for a resurrection of the righteous,but as a spirit only, without a body (comp.$103^{3,4}$).

A later Enoch apocalypse (Ethiopic Enoch 37-70) expresses the conviction that both the righteous and the wicked will be raised (comp $51^{1,2}$; $62^{15,16}$),and that the spirits of the righteous will be clothed in a body of glory and light.

The author of the Slavonic Book of Enoch believed in a resurrection of spirits,without a body. He nevertheless believed in a spiritual body,for he describes the righteous as clothed in the glory of God. The authors of the books of Jubilees and the Assumption of Moses believed in a resurrection of the spirit only,without a body (comp. Jubilees 23^{31} and Assumption of Moses 10^{9}).

All these believed that the soul would sleep in Sheol

till the Judgment,but several Alexandrian writers about the beginninf of the common era held,like Psalms 49 and 73,that the spirits of the righteous entered on a blessed immortality at death. This was the view of the author of Wisdom of Solomon (3^{1-4}: 4^{7-10}), of Philo,and 4th Maccabees. Finally, the scope of the resurrection,which,in previous writers,had been limited to Israel,was extended in the Apocalypse of Baruch and 2d Esdras to include all mankind (comp.Baruch 49-51:4).

At the decisive point whether it is the resurrection of a body or spirit we are left unsettled so far as these Hebrew and Jewish writings are concerned. Each can follow his own conscience to take either spiritual or bodily resurrection,according to his religious convictions.

Now we trace that idea to the Apocryphal writings of Pharisaic origins and approach to the cherished thought of Paul

Kaufmann Kohler gives us various arguments in favor of resurrection from Pharisaic and Rabbinical points of view,in an article in Jewish Encyc. And he inferred from these writings that immortality of the soul takes the place of the bodily resurrection. Especially noteworthy are the arguments drawn from the grain of the wheat: "The corn of wheat". In San Hedr. 90b.. R.Meir is reported as saying:

> "It is entrusted naked to the earth,and comes again to life with a multitude of clothing;

> Shall the pious who are buried in their garment not also rise clothed?"

The fact that Pharisees and Essenes believed in the resurrection of the body is bourne out in the works of Josephus (Antiquities of Jews Book 18 chap.I.)

> "They also believed that souls have an immortal vigour in them, and that under the earth there will be rewards or punishments, according as they have lived virtuously in this life; and the latter are to be detained in an everlasting prison, but that the former shall have power to revive and live again; on account of which doctrine, they are able greatly to persuade the body of people."

And the doctrine of the Essenes is, that all things are best ascribed to God. They also teach immortality of the soul, and that the reward of the righteous is to be earnestly striven for.

But we must not ignore that the Sadducees did not believe in immortality. In the same chapter it is related that the soul dies with the body.

It is a convincing fact that Paul as a Pharisee was familiar with the idea of the resurrection. Since Gamaliel proved the resurrection from the Bible in answer to the challenge of the Sadducees, by pointing to passages from three portions of Scriptures (Deut.31[16]; Isa.26[19]; Cant 7[10]).

We need to know at this point also that if we judge from the Talmudic literature there seems to have been little

that was spiritual about the conception. The future body as to material and organization was conceived as essentially of the same quality as the present (Lehren d.Talmud,p.353). This view is corroborated by the Apocalypse of Baruch 1^2; and 1st Enoch 108^{11} has a parallel view to that of Paul.

(a) The resurrection of Christ.

> "I delivered unto you,first of all, that which I also received,how that Christ died for our sins according to Scriptures;
>
> "And that He was buried; and that He rose again the third day, according to the Scriptures;
>
> "And that He was seen of Cephas; then of the twelve:
>
> "After that,He was seen of above five hundred brethren at once; of which the greater part remain unto this present,but some are fallen asleep.
>
> "After that He was seen of James; then of all the apostles.
>
> "And last of all He was seen of me also,as one born out of due time."
> I Cor.15^{3-8}

It is the personal testimony and the evidence on the resurrection of Christ which Paul gave as a historic fact. And as a Pharisee he did not forget to prove it by the Scripture as did Gamaliel at his time. "The greater part of the five hundred brethren are still alive",says Paul,to the Corinthians; "you can easily discover them and cross-examine them as to the things they saw and heard." And Paul of-

fered this challenge to a church in which there existed a party that contested the truth of which he spake.

This affirmation of Paul is weighty because it is that of which we possess the earliest record, written before either the Apocalypse or the Gospel. It has been urged that variations in the narratives destroy their value, indicating for them either a mystical origin, or a tendency of the writer so to frame his story on each particular occasion as to adapt it to the circumstances in which he is introducing the Apostle at the time.

There seems to be two opinions about the Pauline evidence of Christ being risen on the third day. Professor Lake proposes thus:

> "The result of an examination of the problem from the side of Paul's evidence thus seems to point to the fact that it is not impossible that in the formula of Christian teaching which he quoted in I Corinthians 15[4], 'was raised on the third day' is a reference to the experience of the women. Those who are influenced by the relation of Paul's teaching to Mark's, will naturally be the more ready to accept this opinion. The alternative is to say that he, or rather the author of the formula which he quoted, deduced the third day from the Scripture, aided perhaps by current belief and contemporary folklore."[1]

He goes on to say that

> "Paul's own writings give us no

1. The Resurrection of Jesus Christ

> sufficient help in choosing between these two alternatives. and if it be not based on history, it must be based upon mythology. The latter theory seems to be adopted by a little band of scholars (of whom Cheyne, Gunkel, Winckler, Jensen and Zimmern are perhaps the best known names) who have made a special study of the folklore of the period and of the east generally."

The outline of this folklore or mythology is as follows: The primitive nations regard the procession of nature as the life of a god, and told the story of the seasons in terms of his life and death. Thus the spring equinox was resurrection of the sun god; and the new moon was the death and the resurrection after three days of the moon deity. The death of the solar deity, Maduck, was spoken of and his grave shown in Babylonia, and the grave of Zeus was preserved in Crete.

Of course these scholars assume that this folklore has influenced the doctrine of the Pauline resurrection. And apart from this folklore theory there are many theories which have been invented to explain away the resurrection of Christ.

These are the modern points of view, and have not direct bearing on the Pauline conception, but they are here mentioned to show that there are many angles of view on the same fact. The swoon theory of Schleiermacher, who taught that Jesus was not dead when taken down from the cross; that he had merely fallen into a swoon caused by pain and exhaustion; when laid in the cool air of the cavern-tomb he revived. The fraud

Theory of Renan. This denies to Christ "sincerity with humanity",attributing to him "innocent artifice" and"the and the toleration of pious fraud". Third theory,the telegram theory of A.Keim. He would have us believe that the disembodied spirit of Jesus so communicated itself to them as to produce effects similar to those which an actual body would have produced. But this throws us back to the realm of miracle and makes Christ a deceiver. Fourth,the hallucination theory of Strauss. According to him,the appearances of Jesus were visions resulting from a feverish expectation.

We have been drilled long enough on the Jewish conception of the Resurrection,and become acquainted with the pious atmosphere which is totally different from that wherein the above theories were produced. We do not wonder that some of the Jewish writers would have written a clear-cut statement such as Paul did concerning the Resurrection of the Messiah,had they been in such a place as Paul,that is,to have had the same experience as Paul had. That long-cherished Messianic hope on the one hand,and the deeply established idea or hope of a resurrection on the other,had remained side by side in the minds of the Jews. But evidently two factors became the undeniable fact - "Christ is Risen"-- to Paul,when he saw the Risen Lord. This happy combination of the two hopes produces such an impression on Paul that it became the centre of his theology and impetus of missionary activity.

It was always the thought that the death of Jesus came at conversion to stand before his soul,and "from the moment of the revelation in which the Son of God was revealed in him Paul lived only in the contemplation of the Crucified One; and his wole system of thought turns upon this one fact." (Baur History of First Three Centuries). But if Paul had had the idea of the death of Christ exclusively,he would not have been an Apostle of the Gentle. For only the risen Christ can transcend above the time and space,and He becomes the Universal Lord of Lords. Therefore,the effect produced upon Paul by what he saw,has a significant importance on the doctrine of the Resurrection,and his evidence is very weighty.

"Paul so gives it",Milligan says, "that the most skillful counsel in a modern court of law will scarcely venture to think that,were the apostle now before him,it would be in his power to shake it by any cross-examination which he could conduct,and if we take the circumstance into our consideration, it . . . it clear that there is no Paganish association with it. The time at which their testimony was borne is of great importance since it was practically contemporaneous with the event. It was a hundred years after Mohammed died before any miracles were claimed for him,and about as long after the death of Loyola,the founder of the Jesuits. Paganism was equally careful to affirm no wonders of its saints until a suffucient period had elapsed to render the detection of a fraud impossible. But not so in the case of the resurrection

of Christ. Evidently,there is no remoteness of time. Paul adds after mentioning the five hundred brethren,of whom the greater part remain unto this present time,but some are fallen asleep."[1]

Is it possible that his subjective vision upon which he based the whole concerning the risen Christ may be verified? The answer is affirmative in view of the situation of the Apostle. He had been a persecutor of the Christians as blasphemers,who claimed that Jesus had risen. Yet he had no satisfaction in his own inner consciousness. In such a state of mind,the Telegram or Hallucination theory possibly could not be worked out. He was far from being in a high degree of psychological excitement which is capable of producing in him the belief that he is seeing that which in point of fact has no subjective existence,but also that Paul did not see Jesus to make the visionary image. And I am inclined to believe that in the journey to Damascus what befell was not a mere vision,but an actual meeting with the Risen Jesus.

C. <u>The Resurrection of Believers</u>.

"But now is Christ risen from the dead,and become the first fruits of them that slept. "For since by man came death,by man came also the resurrection of the dead." "For as in Adam all die,even so,in Christ shall all be made alive." (I Cor.15:20-22) Paul was careful to record the historical

1. The Resurrection of Our Lord.

testimonies for the Lord's appearance after death. This inductive method was employed to answer the Corinthians,making his stand on the fact that Christ has risen,though Paul himself needed no such elaborated procedures. Once the premise was established,Paul changed his method and proceeded from the particular to the general,namely,from the resurrection of Christ to that of all believers.

First,we examine the way of his procedure. Is it compatible with that of the Jewish way of thinking about this matter? In order to answer this question we have to find out what they thought about the general resurrection as expressed in the Bible and Extra-Canonical Writings. In Isaiah 26, the resurrection is in the body of righteous Israelites on advent of the kingdom,and Charles says that "the prevailing view and the view that was strong and effective in later Judiasm, was that all the Gentiles were to be destroyed (Is.34,35; Joel) or that all that were hostile to Israel (Ezekiel,Haggai, Zechariah) ,under the shadow of Jahveh's omnipotent but pitiless supremacy (Ezekiel) ,or to be converted to His worship (Haggai,Zechariah). And in Apocalyptic and Apochryphal literature,the resurrection is supposed to be in the body of the righteous,and of such wicked Israelites as had not been punished in life on advent of kingdom (Eth.En.1-26),and also in Eth.En.83-90,is it maintained that the resurrection is in the body,which was to be subsequently transformed of the righteous Israelites only. But we find in Apoc.Baruch: Apoc.Ezra,that the resurrection is to be in the body of all

mankind."[1]

From this brief glance of the resurrection,we can assume that Paul was not the pioneer to apply the resurrection to all mankind in Christ. But how did he come to that conclusion? In the same way as the writer of Baruch?

He may convince us that Christ arose,but without something (which should be more than fragmental facts,but strong enough to deduce the general doctrine - it may be a universal truth or at least a special revelation), how could he have known that Christ "was the first fruits of them that slept"? But do we not find anything to solve this question? Yes. In the idea of the "first fruits". "By 'first fruits' is meant the earnest or pledge that the whole resurrection harvest will follow". Dr.Jane Gray says,

> And there is some reason to believe that this epistle was written about the time of the Passover(v.7),while the day after the Passover,Sabboth, was that for the offering of the first fruit (Lev.23[10-11]). As the same was the day of Christ's resurrection, we perceive the appropriatness of the image."[2]

But an analogy can never argue for anything; it may set forth the truth in abeautiful way,yet it does not explain away the truth. Robertson and Plummer in the International Critical Commentary,sat that "in these verses --20-28-- the Apostle ceases to argue,and authoritatively declares the truth. Human logic is for the moment dropped,and the in-

1. Eschatology: Hebrew,Jewish and Christian
2. The Picture of Resurrection.

spiration of the Prophet takes its place. Confident in the possession of knowledte which transcends experience and reason,he authoritatively declares what hasbeen revealed to him respecting the relations between mankind and Christ,and between Christ and the Father."

Even granted that the "first fruits" does not explain the truth,but tells us something of the nature of the resurrection,for,as above,writers say 'fruits' implies community of nature. The first sheaf offered in the Temple on the morrow of the Passover was the same in kind as the rest of the harvest and was a sort of consecration of the whole (Lev. $23^{10,11}$). Christ is the pattern of the believers and this he tried to explain by his theological belief: "For as in Adam all die.." This is a theological problem and it is not the sphere of this paper to discuss,but to treat only far enough to make the way clear to his doctrine of resurrection.

The later Jewish literature shows how prominently the subject of the first sin and of man's depravity entered into the thought and discussions of the Jews in the last century B.C. and in the first century A.D. The following passages, quoted from Charles' Apocrypha,will illustrate Jewish religious thought upon the sujcet of the fall and the consequences:

> 4.Ezra 7^{118}: "O thou Adam,what hast thou done! For though it was thou that sinned,the fallwas not thine alone but ours also who are thy descendants!

2. Baruch 23^{4}- "When Adam sinned and death was decreed against those who should be born."

2. Baruch 56^{6}- "For when he (Adam) transgressed, Ultimate death came into being."

Ryle says,in the Commentary on Genesis in the Cambridge Bible:

> "Jewish thought was not agreed upon the question whetherall men inherited from Adam a tendency to sin,or whether each man enjoyed freedom of choice and responsibility,and both views could be supported from Paul's words, 'Through the disobedience of the one the many were made sinners', 'and so death passed unto all men,for that all sinned.'"

Here Paul associated the idea of death with Adam and that of life with Christ. And in that sense,he made the resurrection mystical. As examples of the mystical sense,besides Romans $6^{4,5}$,we have Col.$2^{12,3}$; I Eph.2^{5f}. The last named passages carry the mystical union with Christ beyond his Resurrection to His Ascension,and it is in reference to the baptismal hymn,"Awake,thou that sleepest,and arise from the dead,and Christ shall shine upon thee" (Eph.5^{14}). And to Paul both the literal and mystical resurrection are truly compatible. So,we have to interpret 'literal view' with the light of the mystical view and vice versa.

D. <u>The General Resurrection</u>:

The meaning of the word "all" greatly emphasises the general resurrection. If the πάντες must have the same meaning in both clauses,then the πάντες in the first clause and the second mean the whole human race and the general resur-

rection is the inevitable consequence. But this is wholly incompatible with his mystical view of the resurrection. And we can save it from being incompatible by accepting that there are two kinds of resurrection - of the just and of the unjust. The qestion of the latter resurrection seems to lie outside of Paul's chief concern,and there is room left to be settled.

Schaeder says:

> "The opinion of the Apostle must have been that non-believers would rise in the same body which they formerly possessed,and then they who are acquitted in the Judgment,experience a transformation of their body into the spiritual body of believers already risen; the rejected,with their bodies,fall a prey to death..... They experience in the Resurrection the deliverance from death won for them by the resurrection of Christ,but owing to their rejection in the judgment,they must go back to death."

At this point Paul is different from the contemporaneous writers. His bright hope in the life and the happy thought of the resurrection kept him away from gloomy thought on the destiny of non-believers. His gospel is too lofty and ethical to even meditate on the crude and minute details of the final state of the non-believers.

D. <u>The Nature of the Spiritual Body</u>

Paul's object was not merely to identify the future life with the resurrection of the dead,but his main and glorious object was to tell us that not only the Lord still lives,but He has a body. In this respect,his doctrine of the resurrec-

tion stands by itself, and the most remarkable contribution to this doctrine is contained in his conception of the nature of the resurrected body:

> "So also is the resurrection of the dead.
>
> "It is sown in corruption; it is raised in incorruption;
>
> "It is sown a natural body; it is raised a spiritual body.
>
> "If there is a natural body, there is also a spiritual body."

When the objectors have been discussed the writer took the position that Paul takes no sides either with the Greek or the Jews as to the nature of the resurrected body. It is most urgent to know the motive or reason why Paul insisted on the body in order to understand clearly the significance and nature of a spiritual body.

The Pauline conception of the future life is not anything like an absorption of individuals into the world-soul-Atman, and Buddhistic state of mind - "not blown upon", but a full activity of the whole personality in conscious harmony with other souls. Therefore, it must have some higher type of a body to correspond to the spiritual environment as well as spiritual expression, and also we readily understand the reason why he insisted on the importance of the body.

Streeter says, in Immortality,

> "His epistles show that the tendencies of thought which appeared a little later as Gnosticism were already beginning to affect the Church. A fundamental tenet of

> this type of thought was the doctrine that matter, and therefore the body, is intrinsically evil and that spirit alone is good."

And on the other hand, as a Jew he was very cautious against being left "naked". Then what position could he have taken other than resorting to that glorious Living Christ and Comforter himself, by being like Him (Phil 3^{21}). His a'pricri reason that "if there is a natural body, there is also a spiritual body" is an assumption without convincing, and the analogy of the sowing is an evangelistic illustration and no more. No logic can go any further toward explaining the nature of the spiritual body, but from the constituent elements of the natural and spiritual body we can get some light on this.

Meyer says,

> "The resurrection body will be πνευματικόν, i.e. not an etherial body, which the antithesis of ψυχικόν forbids; but a spiritual body, inasmuch as the πνεῦμα the power of the super-sensuous, eternal life, (the true, imperishable ζωή), in which the Holy Spirit carries on the work of regeneration and sanctification, will be its life-principle and the determining element of its whole nature."

This cold statement does not add much to the explanation. From an entirely different angle, Bishop W.R. Nicholson gives us a suggestion.

He says,

"Spiritual,not as regards its substance, for it will be matter still,but spiritual as regards its use. This present body could by no means accompany and sustain our spirits under the energy of the eternal life; but that future body will be the easy companion of the Christian soul in his farthest and highest explorations, a companion to the soul as wings are to the bird,as the light is to the heat,as fragrance is to the breeze."

It is beautiful,but is only a poetic view of the spiritual body,thereby we can apprehend the nature of it.

The formation of the spiritual body.

"Now this I say,brethren,that flesh and the blood can not inherit the Kingdom of God; neither doth corruption inherit incorruption.

"Behold I show you a mystery; we shall not all sleep,but we shall all be changed.

"In a moment,in the twinkling of an eye, at the last trump; for the trumpet shall sound,and the dead shall be changed." (50-52)

"For the Lord Himself shall descend from heaven.... ahd the dead in Christ shall rise first; then we which are alive and remain shall be caught up together with them in the clouds to meet the Lord in the air; and so shall we ever be with the Lord." (I Thess.4^{16-18})

"We choose rather to be absent from the body,and to be present with the Lord." IICor.5^{8}

"We that are in this tabernacle do groan,being burdened; not for that we should be unclothed,but clothed upon,that mortality might be swallowed up of life."

Murdock's Literal Translation from the Syriac Version renders it:

> "We groan under its burden; yet we desire,not to throw it off, but to be clothed over it,so that its mortality may be absorbed in life."

If we rationalize that analogy,we may say that there are some elements or factors entered into that sow seeds of doubt. So Paul says it is 'the mystery': "God gives it a body according as He willed." (ἠθέλησεν) the aorist denotes the final act of God's will,determining the constitution of nature.

From the Jewish point of view nothing can be done without the sovereign power of God. For to them God was all in all,and Paul could not explain the σῶμα τῆ πνευματικὰ which occupies the central position in his conception,unless it is by a mystery. It is the transforming or translating from the earthly to the heavenly.

Did Paul share the idea found in various religions that the soul ascending to heaven receives its new body on the threshold of the eternal dwelling of God, "It is not a promise of a passage",according to Professor Lake, "like the heathen mysteries into an eternal life either non-identical with the present body or same constituents;it is a promise of a change of substance which will affect both living and dead,when the Parousia comes,so that our bodies,instead of consisting of corruptible flesh and blood,will become spiritual and

consists of the same substance as God and His attendants."

It is truly said by Kennedy that it is the blossoming, so to speak,of the new life,the Life of the πνεῦμα already implanted.

As to the changing of the body or translation of the earthly body to the spiritual body,there exists some discrepancy between I Corinthians and II,so far as the time is concerned and Charles explains this by dividing the Pauline eschatology into the four stages.

This developmental idea shows Pauline departure from Judaistic view,that is,the Resurrection takes place at Parousia. This idea took strong hold of Paul when he wrote I Cor. and II Cor. And we trace this looking forward to the Parousia of Christ in I Corinthians. But in II Corinthians 5,he entirely gave up this notion of Parousia being preceded to the resurrection.

It may be due to his external reason that Parousia had not been within the sight,or to his greater conviction that the process of the resurrection is beyond the human apprehension,and is the divine work,and it takes place at any time when the human body ceases to be such.

CONCLUSION

The Jewish Messianism,which had been an inspiring idea of the nation and individuals through the ages,came to the

culmination at the advent of Christ,and all prophecy connected with Messiah was literally fulfilled by Him. What more do we need,since the hidden mystery has been revealed to the world? Yet God's people are slow to comprehend the truth. As Isaiah says:

> "Things which eye saw not,
> and ear heard not,and
> which entered not into the
> heart of man; whatsoever
> things God prepared for
> them that love him."

When that mystery was revealed to Paul through πνεῦμα he became the earnest preacher,and interpreted the fundamental truth of Christianity in such a way as no one else could do.

Though he was in great measure susceptible to the mystic idea,Paul was a practical man. He could not be satisfied unless he comprehended things thoroughly and concretely. Abstract idea had no place in his thinking. What he says about the fullness of the God-head dwelling bodily in Christ is also true to the Pauline doctrine of the resurrection.

There seems four elements in his doctrine. The first is the apocalyptic. This is shown in I and II Thessalonians and I Corinthians,and no doubt he was under the Jewish influence of the Parousia of Christ.

The second is the spiritual reality. It is something more than theology. His realistic philosophy of the resurrection is very carefully distinguished from the materialistic

view of the same by his own saying:

"Flesh and blood cannot inherit
the Kingdom of God."

To Paul the spiritual reality of the resurrection is no less and no more than the spiritual body, for it is his conviction that the complete redemption is both the soul and body.

The third element is mystic. It is a revelation from above. Not that we ignore the fact that there was the mystic element of the Mystery Religions, but it is the revelation which gave the meaning and character to the resurrection.

The fourth is practicability. Here is his practical theology. He not only makes the resurrection the stimulating hope of the Christian, but he preaches that it is something attainable by the indwelling of the Holy Spirit. This is the climax of the doctrine of the resurrection.

The End.

T H E S I S

1921

A SOCIALIZED PROGRAM FOR THE

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION OF EARLY ADOLESCENCE

A Thesis Presented to the
Department of Religious Education
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In Partial Fulfillment
of the
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Degree of Master of Sacred Theology

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INTRODUCTION

The World War gave an impetus to the destruction of autocracy and political tyranny. The resultant political organization is democratic. This is not a form of eighteenth century individualism, but a new universal ideal of social-civic living, in which social service and life for the group are stressed.

In religion there is likewise a reconstruction. The vain speculations of metaphysics and theology are being relegated to the trash-pile of mediaeval lore. The pragmatic movement sweeps the field of religion. Religion is viewed as social reaction and group living; and must stand the pragmatic test and return values in practical form.

Modern life has become highly objectified. Formerly men were extremely introspective and subjective; they had time for theological speculation. We live in a unified world, the scene of the intense, vital and pulsating drama of humanity. Books and newspapers, telephones and wireless communications, trains and automobiles, steamships and aeroplanes have bridged the seas, tied the ends of the earth together and made the antipodes neighbors. We are absorbed in science, commerce and industry. Speculation and meditation have become lost arts. People crave a crowd and itch for a new thrill, they long for excitement and spurn solitude. There is an increased emphasis on the positive and active side of life. With this change is developing a practical conscience in the social, political and industrial world with a broader

and finer moral and ethical sense. Men work out their own salvation through character; and by the socialization of the individual, through religious education, a new social and religious order is being produced which shall be a counterpart, as Coe says, of the "Democracy of God."

PART I.

PRINCIPLES

A. DEMOCRACY

1. Definition.

Democracy is a social ideal, a mode of life, a quality of personality. It is that form of social-civic self-determination which exists for the purpose of directing its composite powers toward desirable ends and promoting the progress and well-being of all its constituent individuals. It is the government "of the people, by the people and for the people." Democracy as a spiritual ideal and a practical form of social life is religious and forms an essential part of the human spirit.

2. Elements.

The elements of a democracy are its individual members and the social-civic and industrial institutions formed by the individuals. Such institutions must function for group welfare. All parts of a pure democracy are in perfect harmony. The individual is adjusted to the social order. When perfect adjustment is possible the individual finds his completion in the democratic group; each exists for the other. Democracy sanctions neither the exploitation of individual interests nor the disregard and annihilation of society.

3. Purpose.

Hence the purpose or aim of democracy is to organize society in such a way that each person may develop his individuality to the highest extent of his capacity through activities, avocations, vocations and interests which

function to the best advantage of all members of the group, of the social institutions and of the social-civic order as a whole. Thus human reactions are placed on a higher level of social efficiency. The individual is not a mere mechanism nor a living cog in the social order whose reactions are controlled by society in an iron-clad manner. But to this ideal of social efficiency is added the ideal of free personal reactions, with an appreciation for the significance of the activities and a loyalty to the ideal involved. Likewise, the individual chooses those vocations and forms of social reactions in which his personality may best develop and become most efficient. This form of organization emphasizes both the individual and the group. Each finds its realization in the other. The organization is individual-societary in its arrangement.

4. Education in a Democracy.

For the purpose of attaining this social efficiency through the free development of individual desires and powers education is the necessary instrument. Education is the natural resultant of an individual-societary form of life. Society,without training the individual with due reference to his differences and capacities,becomes stagnant. Education is social self-renewal by the communication of desirable social experience to the socially immature. It creates a special environment for the immature by simplifying and ordering social experience, by purifying and idealizing existing social customs and by creating a wider and better social environment than the present one. Thus progress results.

Finally, education in a democracy, through social selection, must develop in all individuals the knowledge, interests, ideals, habits and mental attitudes whereby each will react to shape,both for himself and the group, ever widening, progressive and nobler ideals.

Education in a democracy is religious in so far as it attains the aims of that organization.

B. RELIGION[1]

1. Definition.

Religion is no longer a mere unapplicable philosophy of existence in terms of an Absolute Deity, or a transcendental Personal Dictator; nor a view of the traditional authority of the church which kills the spirit of progress and modern scientific training; nor a vast storehouse of the creeds of centuries, the crystallization of the thought and life of their respective ages. It is not asceticism, unworldliness, a spiritual novelty, a worn-out pietism,nor a Puritanic ideal -- a "sore spot" to those who desire to act. Nor is religion a useless system of absolute, unrelated rules of conduct, the stifler of youthful action and the desire of the old. It is not a special faculty of man's mental mechanism nor a separate instinct of the human race. Nor is it the metaphysical relation of the "ethereal spirit" of

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1. It will be noticed that throughout the thesis the writer is basing his work on the accepted theories of religion formulated by the modern authors in the field of religious reconstruction.

man to a supposed Ultimate who is unconcerned with man's battle for existence.

Religion is "life" in terms of social reactions. It is the individual's response to the "ideal order". It is the all-inclusive, positive, active, manly "life procedure". It is character in process of development, a real functioning personality guided in all its elements and activities by ethical and social purposes. Religion is life motivated by the "social ideal" plus that of which the individual conceives as having the "ultimate validity". This Ultimate may be a highly anthropomorphical Deity, an Absolute Personality with ethical implications or a pantheistic total of evolutionary forces, or the natural realm, or the present social order, or the "sum total of all the forces that made for good." Any reaction for social welfare is religious. Drake says, "He who best serves the group is the most religious."

In terms of the individual-societary form of life, Religion must be defined as "personal-social self-realization." More clearly, the individual finds his perfection and self-realization in the group. This is religion.

2. Religious Education.

Since the aim of religion is social reaction, the duty of the educative process in terms of religion, or of religious education, is the communication of the social experience of the race with the wisest choice of elements and methods of application to the immature which results wholly in social living. The aim of religious education is the

production of social reactions. Religious education then is the growth and development of the immature individual toward and into a consuming devotion,and a mature and efficient loyal service to the "social order" and a happy personal-social self-realization therein.

C. THE INDIVIDUAL

1. Relation to the Social Order.

The individual is not a machine, uniform throughout, but is a personality, with individual capacities; a personal equation who is to be trained to find self-expression in social and religious reactions through the group.

2. All Individuals to be trained.

Since all participate in religious reactions and social living, religious education must be universal for all who are socially and religiously immature -- child and adult. The process shall be continuous so long as there are individuals who react anti-socially. The ideal is that at some period of life anti-social habits and attitudes shall be minimized and even eliminated from society. It is the definite duty of religious education to develop socially motivated characters in such a way that anti-social tendencies, because of lack of use, shall atrophy and cease to function. This is an ideal worthy of our worship, but is not attainable for the world is in process of change and the evolution and the expression of character is never final. That which today is social tomorrow, because of added knowledge of group morality and a more definite unfolding of truth, will be highly anti-social and immoral. Nevertheless,

religious education can train the individual to react in the light of the most recent knowledge of religious relationships and social morality.

3. Religion is Personal Growth.

Religion, from the standpoint of the individual, is that personal growth toward social self-realization which results from the religious educative process.

4. The Child and the Environment Give Future Response.

Religious education deals with the socially immature, or with the child. This individual is a "free reacting mechanism"; he is free to choose between reactions as influenced by motives furnished him through the media of the social order. As such motives force him he reacts. Theoretically, the individual may be free in the act of choice, but practically his choices are the result of his environment. The child,--the human equation,--plus the environment give the response. To understand the social response, the personality of the child and the environment are to be studied.

a. Child.

(1) Race hereditary mechanisms.

(a) Mind. The neurological structure. Possibilities of neural response -- inherited neural action patterns. Watson says that the inherited neural action patterns determine the future individual response to a given stimulus.

(b) Instinctive tendencies for the purpose of initiating habit.

(c) Inherited emotional responses.

(2)Individual Difference.

Individuals differ according to age, sex, types of lives lived and stimulations received. The duty of the educator is to determine individual variations in neural ability, types of stimuli to which individuals best respond, and to build up an environment according to these individual differences.

b. The environment.

The environment includes all stimulations received by the child -- physical, mental, moral, social and spiritual. The child's exercise, habits, reading, thinking, companions, home, life, school -- in fact all activities, however minute, demand a response and must be used by the educator to produce character.

5. Environment Controlled by Religious Education.

The child grows into a socially reacting person -- attains personal-social self-realization -- only as the complete environment is guided and controlled by religious education. Every phase of the environment must contribute to the development. This is achieved only when social education selects the material, chooses the social method and organizations and rules the process. Any anti-religious or anti-social elements will mar the finished product. Hence religious education produces a social environment in which the immature develop.

6. The Process is Continuous.

The process of personal-social self-realization as

a growth into a religious character is continuous. As education develops the mentality without a break in the process, it likewise develops the process of social growth. There is nothing within the child's personality -- as an original depraved nature-- that demands the functioning of an outside being, or force, to cause social or religious reactions. The religious elements of character are a direct result of a continuous education. Sin, or anti-social activities, are eliminated by training. The old traditional idea of the necessity of a break in the religious growth, conversion, for the youth or the aged is contradictory to the validity of education. It makes religious life dependent on the "tapping" of superhuman forces; it takes us into the realm of the magical; it is highly unhuman. The task of religious education is to produce a continuous personal-social self-realization, If this is conversion, then the old term is used with a modern connotation.

7. Child Determines Choice of Content and Method.

The environment, or content material, chosen to produce the social and religious reactinn must be determined by the individual -- his development, capacities, ability and powers. Too often the content or material or aims determine selection and method. This results in a dwarfed personality.

8. Ideo-Motor Activity.

Finally, to every stimulation there is a response. The response may be immediate or remote. If remote, it gives rise to ideals, and the evaluating attitude develops. In the neural mechanism there are the end-organs of sense, the conducting

nerve pathway, then the brain cells where transmission and association take place. Then come the cells which carry the response to the muscles. This is called a sensori-motor path. A sensory stimulus, unless inhibited, always calls forth a motor discharge. Applied to education every form of environment demands a response by the individual. Hence arises the necessity of giving only a direct, positive, social stimulation to the immature.

D. CONTENT OR CURRICULUM.

1. Determiners of Content.

a. The content is determined by the social and religious aims. The aims set definite goals for religious and social education. They guide in the process by giving standards of value, criteria for the selection of material and method. Dewey says that aims are a part of the social order; if not, they become arbitrary bounds imposed on the process, nullify action and make the growth of the individual stereotyped. Since the aims are purely social they demand the content to be the same.

b. Not only the aims but the child determines content used. If the curriculum is given only in terms of society and its demands, it may or may not be suited to the personality of the child. The individual also is determinant--his needs, life, character, development, interests and the demands the future shall make upon him--his past, present and future. Limits set by the individual are to be recognized. A boy who is fitted entirely for a mechanic society has no right to train for the episcopacy.

2. Content from Society.

The content is drawn from the social order and is a vital element in the life of the child. The curriculum which is unrelated, distant and without value, however prized by the race, is doomed to elimination. Since the curriculum plus the child give the future response, and that response is to be social, the content must be social. Facts of the Garden of Eden or of the Flood without social application are worse than useless. There is no relation to living. The content for the boy or girl is knowledge of their life conditions, their problems, their ideals and ambitions.

3. The Curriculum is Variable.

The process of social living, religious reactions, is ever changing. It is not the same "yesterday, today and forever", nor is it static nor stagnant, but is seething, explosive and dynamic. The "on going process" demands a developing, changing curriculum to suit the individual for its needs. The curricula are variables. As the child develops socially and finds a higher social motive in the scale of values for his actuation, the stimuli necessary to produce a progressive social response must increase in complexity. A girl of fifteen years casts aside her rag doll and the boy is through with his toy train; they demand a higher type of pleasure.

4. The Curriculum Covers All the Life Process.

The curriculum is a definite part of the life of the child. The physical life of the child in games,

athletics, exercises, activities; the neural life, books, reading, the imaginative-stirring facts; the emotional life; the spiritual life, with ideals, attitudes, interests in the "present and eternal orders"; and the social life with its interaction with chums, companions, teachers, elders, and parents -- all are guarded and controlled by the ideal of giving a social content. If any phase is neglected then the response will be undesirable. An uncontrolled play life develops a rash, harsh, unsocial child. The neural life uncontrolled dwarfs the child's efficiency. The social life hitherto has been distinctively unsocial, and as such, irreligious. The youth too often has been ruled by a dictator as a father, has had no choice in deciding his life problems and has had no social intercourse with his parents. The nation is now reaping the response inthe breaking down of home life and in a tide of youthful crime and immorality.

5. Social Correlation of Content.

The decisive criterion of value is social reactions; only as all the environment is correlated around social actions will the individual be able to respond to the social order. If one element is not related to the social process, not an integral part of the social content, then this neglected phase will fail in its social response. It must be remembered that man responds as mechanically to his environment as the law of Mendel holds in heredity. If in school life the content is social, in the home autocratic, with companions immoral, in reading anti-social, the response of the youth will be as

haphazard. The note of social and religious living shall be that which ties together each element of the environment or curriculum and shall make each a necessary link for the other. Only by such a socially correlated curriculum can the youth attain to a perfect personal-social self-realization.

6. All Material Socialized.

It is accepted without question that all material is socialized. The process is social, the order is social, the method is social and the content must be social. That which fails in the least to promote social and religious life has no place in a social program of religion. Anti-social songs and forms of worship and such an allusion to the unsocial destruction of Sodom may be minute and of small consequence, but even the most minor unsocial detail is to be cast aside.

Religious education, whatever the price, must use the "pruning knife" in the annihilation of anti-social content.

7. Motivation Through Social Projects.

Motivation is the sustained interest an individual has in an activity. That which through instinct or interest causes the pupil to act is motivation. Certain objects and activities, because of relationships to the individual, actuate or motivate that person to react. The boy has an attraction for the ball game, for manual training, or for making things which has been produced because of some relationship with those activities. Some say motives may be instinctive; if such be possible, then those activities which

result because of instinct have attractive or pleasurable responses. Any self-motivated action in the life of a youth will give greater response than an activity without a motive backing it. In other words, activities, carried on by youths, because of an interest in the same, give greater development and more is achieved than if there were no interest. Hence the necessity of using activities which, because of personal interest, provide their own motivation.

Such activities are "projects" or problems in the life of the youth. Projects rightly conducted furnish the motivation for mastering them. In social and religious education a social response is to be had through social projects which will motivate the pupil. The social life of the youth furnishes numerous projects for social growth. Social service, graded to the development of the youth and drawn from his environment, gives a religious reaction. The school life, the home, the community and companions furnish numerous social problems for the youth.

SUMMARY

1. Democracy and Religion are an integral part of the human spirit.

2. Religion is social reactions produced by experiments in social living through religious education.

3. In the social order the individual finds his completion. When the individual, through religious education, attains personal-social self-realization, he is religious.

4. The individual and his environment determine the future social response.

5. The environment, or in the educative process the curriculum, to produce personal-social self-realization, must be socialized and correlated around the social ideal.

PART II.

EARLY ADOLESCENCE

A. LONGITUDINAL STUDY OF THE CHILD

Youth is a reacting unit. Faculty psychology which conceived of the mind as having separate powers such as discrimination, feeling, willing existing in distinct neural compartments, is now obsolete. The mind is a unit and the entire neural process functions in some degree in each reaction. Behavioristic and experimental psychology have given a new direction to our thinking. Behavior is indicative of the mental process and is properly understood only by scientifically controlled experimentation. Thus man's personality becomes practically a mechanism. Even the existence of the soul is doubted; consciousness is said to be neural maladjustment and the will but numerous habits and attitudes. The individual reacts as compelled by stimuli.

Hence the behavior of youth must be studied as an index to his personality, functioning as forced by stimuli. To understand the youth properly the study cannot only be "cross-section" - a definite period unrelated to that which precedes - but must be "longitudinal". For the present response is based upon past experience and depends upon past neural pathways of discharge. Complete charts of the growing child's activities, mental, physical, emotional experiences, and the entire environment are needed for a correct study of an individual boy's or girl's life. Such a longitudinal study of childhood and youth is to be a product of the coming generation.

B. EARLY ADOLESCENCE, AGES 12-15

Early adolescence is used in this study because of the strategic importance of this period. It is the consummation of

childhood and the "golden gate" that opens into young manhood and young womanhood, with all their respective joys, pleasures and possibilities. It is the time when suddenly the boy who is careless and untidy begins to feel that he is king of all he surveys and when the girl seeks her "powder puff", is extremely anxious about her appearance and begins to cast playful glances at "Jim". It is that plastic time of life which, if controlled, gives greater returns in future living than any other period. It is the age of ideals, goals and ambitions and social expansion -- when youths really commence to experiment with society. The mind develops most rapidly now and physical adjustment results most easily. Early adolescence is that stage in which personal-social self-realization begins. If this age is properly controlled and the social stimulation is right then the social development is assured. If allowed to drift, and no social stimulation is provided, the chances are that the youth will always be a "social prodigal".[1]

C. CHARACTERISTICS

For the sake of analysis we shall deal with the separate traits, but it will be remembered that in life no such divisions exist, but that the personality functions as a unit.

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1. The ages 12-15 are used for early adolescence. In some instances puberty is not attained until 14 or 15, in other cases as early as 12. These ages are used to cover such an elasticity. When puberty comes at 14 then the age limit for early adolescence would be 16 or 17 instead of 15. Puberty is reached by girls usually one year earlier than by boys.

1. Physical.

At puberty there is a marked acceleration in the youth's height and weight which continues for about four years. The muscles and bones grow irregularly, which causes awkwardness and the "out-of-place feeling." Energy is being used to produce these new changes in life, hence vigor and languor alternate. The boy and girl play feverishly for a while, but soon they are "all in." New physical power develops at puberty. Added interest is shown in physical activities. The neurones take on new physical elasticity. Plays and games are more attractive than before and greater physical complexity is demanded by the youth to hold his or her attention. The boy or girl with the greatest amount of physical energy is the hero of the game. Physical combats and contests are numerous. The youth is beginning to "try-out" the new powers.

Health conditions generally are better than for the preceding age. Fewer deaths are recorded.

The girl matures more rapidly than the boy for she attains the age of puberty earlier than he. The sexes begin to grow apart, but the girl of 14 or 15 casts wistful glances at her older boy heroes. The new sex feeling based on puberty opens up a new world to the adolescent. These wonderful powers of race procreation stir the life of the youth with physical feelings and bring a deep realization of race relationship. This is a time of trying and testing and getting acquainted with one's own power. If the youth goes <u>astray</u> morally the <u>foundation</u> usually is laid at this <u>period</u>. Evils once tasted lead far astray from the paths of physical continence.

2. Mental.

The mind experiences a similar rapid extension. Since the body conditions the mind and mentality is connected with health, a physical enlargement could not fail to produce a corresponding mental development. The enlarged neurones give an increased basis for mental efficiency. With adolescence reason develops; these is a distinct connection of cause and effect and logical consequences are sought for. The youth wants to understand the "why" and "what". He or she becomes critical; mere authority is not accepted and dogmatism without proof is cast aside. Credulity gives way to thinking. The adolescent demands a rational basis for life.

Memory before puberty was verbal for there was no breadth of experience on which to draw. But with this new expansion of self and of life, memory becomes logical. Experiences are connected and related to each other and in this manner remembered. All the incoming, perceptive material is related to the past experiences and is interpreted in the light of such.

The imagination, formerly the tool of superstition, mechanical and vivid, becomes creative, linking fact with fact. The youth is suggestible -- in fact to him an idea means a reaction. The sensori-motor element is strong. But through training habits of control of responses are being formed. The adolescent is still imitative but he imitates ideals as well as characters. Youthful ambitions have their beginning in this new, unknown, enlarged world. An ambition formed in youth is the surest guarantee of future success.

Mental energy is another power of the youth. Increased physical powers give increased mental energy which demands expression.

3. Emotional.

The childish fears decrease and the earlier superficial feeling now becomes substantial. The feeling elements, present before, deepen. Love and sympathy take on a real meaning. Jealousy is also strengthened and may become an integral part of character. The adolescent is moody. At one time he or she may be pleased, joyous, glad or elated; at the least provocation he is dejected, despondent, sad, out of sorts, and hard to "get along with". This is due to physical, mental and social conditions,and the last two are but the result of the physical factors. If there is a preponderance of physical energy then all pleases the youth, otherwise he is a "grouch." Some youths are bashful and shy, and all have a keen sense of fun and humor.

A strong desire for emotional excitement and variety is marked. "Loudness" is present and adolescents express freely their feeling since emotional inhibitions are weak.

Pride and anger become intensified and if unguided they develop into ruling passions,

Finally, the youth is devoted and loyal to his or her companion, clubs and "gangs" and to betray them is contrary to his ethics.

4. Social.

Adolescence is a rapid expansion of the social nature. It is the initiation of the process of personal-social self-realization. At the beginning of the period the youth is selfish, pugnacious and individualistic; he does not recognize the right and existence of others. It is the duty of the environment of this age to socialize him. He soon becomes altruistic and interested highly in "others" -- the home, school, companions and the "gang." He learns to respect and obey social authority as a duty owed to the group.

Friendships are marked and intimate. The street, the church and the school furnish friends and companions. This spirit of friendship is very strong in the clubs and the "gangs" which are formed. The new sex feelings develop a dislike for the opposite sex of the same age, but this soon passes and by the close of the period all seek the friendship of the opposite sex. Intimate friendships often give bad moral results. The secretive impulse becomes strong in clubs and "gangs."

Leadership is prominent. In the game, play, at school, on the street, in the club and "gang," the leader is in demand and always has a following." The bad girl with interesting "tales to tell," or the "dirty mouthed" boy, or the best player on the girl basketball team or the captain of the boys' baseball team, is the one honored and sought for by friends. In the adolescent clubs or "gang" if the leader does not

"produce the goods" his place is immediately and without ceremony given to another.

5. Moral.

The moral response is the reaction the individual makes to the social order. There is a sense of duty and responsibility resultant from the social development. A keen feeling of honor and loyalty is evident in club relations. Conscience, or the sense of the moral law, begins to speak and is dominant at times and to some is harsh. To some the conscience demands strict obedience and may become hypersensitive and injurious to social living. Justice develops when the youth strives to serve others. At times there may be conceived a moral order,which process of ideation is the basis of future religious responses.

In many the desire to serve the group is very lax. The moral nature through reading, companions and sexual activity may become perverted. Strong passions may rule the sexually weak. Anti-social actions are played with for the pleasure derived from them.

6. Religious.

Religious forms, church services, liturgy, etc. lose their attractiveness for the adolescent. He seeks the reality of religious expression and desires spiritual life. To him God is the ruler and law giver; and soon becomes a friend. God, however, loses his picturesqueness.

The religious process becomes emotional to many through conversion, an "undesirable type of religious awakening," as Coe says. These emotions, when guided by

the evangelical, are natural for they are but the expanding emotional life of the adolescent as "tied to" religion. It is remembered that with the expansion of self, all the personality enlarges and seeks that which is valid; from this conversion results. Starbuck found that for girls there were two tidal waves of conversion -- at 13 and at 16 years of age -- while among boys the great period is at 16, preceded by a wavelet at 12.[1] The same writer views conversion and puberty as the supplement of each other while Coe makes the religious awakening dependent upon and the outgrowth of adolescent phenomena. This conversion process takes place in all youth; to some its awakener is religion, to others it may be a new friend, a new "gang" formed, a "movie hero" adored, or an older friend who is idealized. Conversion is the great initiator into the process of personal-social self-realization.

The church is losing its grip upon many youths, especially the red-blooded boys, at this period. Sunday School records show the great decline to be at the end of early adolescence.

7. Dangers.

Since early adolescence is the turning point of the future development and since any wrong action may produce an anti-social character, it is highly necessary to study the dangers common to this period, such as:

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1. Starbuck, "The Psychology of Religion," chapter III.

a. Physical.

Over-development of the ability of the youth; too much strenuous exercise; lack of proper systematic exercise and work to train in muscular co-ordination; lack of play life to assist in the regulative and socializing process; lack of hygienic habits -- dirty teeth, physical sex habits.

b. Mental.

Poor mental work to develop the mind; bad reading, novels, newspapers, low-class magazine short stories; looking at nude pictures; having a lazy mental attitude; doing school work in a half-hearted way; evil thinking aroused by books, companions or pictures.

c. Emotional.

Dwelling on sex feelings until they dominate; superficial sentimentality and easy-going "puppy" love.

d. Social.

Evil environment -- home, school, "gang," street, companions, shows, pictures; "dirty mouthed" friends and "fence language;" bad selection of friends.

8. Interests to offset these dangers.

a. Collections, e.g. stamps, books, pictures, handwork.

b. Pets, e.g. dogs, cats, chickens, ponies (on farm), canaries, parrots, any kind of a live pet.

c. Manual work, e.g. making things: kites, sleds, toys for the "kids;" tinkering with dad's tools; courses that teach manual training. Girls interested in doing things at home, cooking fancy dishes, etc.

d. Games, parties with games, athletics, sports, hikes.

e. Nature, art, music.

f. Hero stories, pioneers, adventurers, missionaries, novels with strong heroes, historic heroes, movies with heroes and much action (any boy or girl can tell you his or her movie hero or heroine), Bible heroes.

g. Stories of daily life with descriptions; general "interesting" literature; "comic sections" and funny stories.

h. "Doings" of the "gang," club, class, team and companions.

i. The particular things in which the individual boy or girl excels. It may be athletics, music, debating, wireless, cooking, crocheting.

9. Special Opportunities with suggestions for Guidance.

a. Automatize good habits. Physical habits of cleanness, sleep, exercise; promptness, duty in obeying parents and teachers; habits of study, reading and thinking by giving good literature; a wise choice of authors and magazines; concentration in reading, thoroughness and mental precision; a good emotional expression, love of parents, companions, sympathy for others by having youths do things for companions (negatively). Eliminate self-will through wise use of competitive and regulative games; eliminate stubbornness through team work -- no element is so great a socializer as wholesome competitive and team games; give a natural expression to all emotions.

b. Create inhibitions to bad habits by developing good ones instead. If it is a sex habit, give outside exercise instead and plenty of sleep; if bad companions, give the boy better ones. No habit can be broken unless a better one is substituted. This accords with the motor mindedness of the adolescent.

c. Assist in the choice of best friends. The school, the church, the home can here fill a great need in the adolescent's life.

d. Create desirable environment in home for youth by inviting best friends and by being a friend to the boy or girl, etc.

e. Automatize Sunday School and church attendance which should be begun in earlier years.

f. Develop moral and religious nature by helping the youth to live a real, red-blooded, American life -- no superficiality.

g. Give a natural expression to the sex life. The sex life is the crux of the problem; the chances are if the sex life is normal and moral, the rest will be likewise. This can only be done by parents and teachers and pastors choosing friends for the youths. The girl or boy can be kept away from "fast" girls or boys by the substitution of normal youths as friends. In the place of the dance which comes to the girl at the end of this period, a higher social pleasure can be substituted by means of church clubs, etc.

h. Use a direct, positive and active method in all life. This is in accord with the sensori-motor principle of action. If the end desired is good, social and moral, give the youth that stimulation and a similar response will be made.

D. ENVIRONMENT

By environment we mean that which the youth comes into contact with -- the social stimuli which gives the social response. The importance of the environment cannot be overestimated for the individual plus the environment give the response. To develop the desired social and religious response, religious education must control and guard the environment.

1. Home.

a. Importance.

The home is the laboratory of social living from which the individual receives his introduction to group life. It makes possible a prolonged infancy and gives that deepest social experience of associating with others. The home is the greatest factor in controlling life and its ideals. It is the basis of the future social order in that it teaches the youths to be parents of the future generation. The home at present is losing its control of the social situation; the street, the school and outside organizations are taking its place. It is becoming merely a "breeding, feeding and lodging place" for children.

b. Directs Activity.

The home directs youthful activity and gives the boys and girls an individual task to perform;as such chores and duties are completed a social response results. The girl assists with the housework while John helps the father with the outside work and runs errands for mother.

c.Gives Companionship.

It is in the home that the adolescent learns his first lesson in living with others; the influence of brothers, sisters and parents teaches the needed lesson of social co-operation. Adolescents in some homes are beginning to be recognized as a factor in deciding the common problems of home life -- types of furniture, the expenditure of money, pleasures chosen, etc. Adolescents often have "paw" or "maw" as their ideal for father and mother are their"chums."

d. Types of homes.

Types of homes and conditions of home life are a great factor in the life of the adolescent.

(1) Parents.

Father away, mother at home, or working; parents see children only at bed time; no friendship; hours long and work hard. Father absorbed in business even while at home, sits with paper before his face, no intercourse with children. In such conditions the adolescent lacks home guidance and chooses social expression from the street, movies, "gang" or club.

(2) Financial Status.

Poor family, ordinary family, or well-to-do family; poor family cramps youths in necessities of life, takes from school to work, dwarfs development; the well-to-do boy is too often in questionable life.

(3) Cultural Status.

Ignorant or cultured, no cultural interest, no books or magazines, no intellectual guidance of cultural interests, good choice of reading material; parents should select wisely for boy or girl.

(4) Social Status.

Social homes: many friends or no friends are invited. Each type of family reacts upon the youth. To give correct stimuli the religious educator must know home conditions.

e. Location of Home.

City, urban, country; apartment or a complete house; yards, streets, nearly playgrounds; factory or residential district; types of neighbors, of the same or different class and nationality; amusements, pool halls, movies and commercial amusements nearby or distant. The location of the home is of greatest importance for the friends, interests and types of social response are determined thereby.

f. Recommendations.

(1) A socialization of family life; all should have a part in the democratic home circle.

(2) Specific home interests and duties for the boy and girl will assist in social living.

(3) A closer relationship and companionship of parents and adolescents usually results in numerous social values.

(4) Parents should have a deeper interest in youths -- "chums."

2. School.

a. Importance of the school.

Next to the home the school claims more time of the individual than any other institution. It enlarges the social vision of the adolescent and through group co-operation trains in social living.

b. Civic Education and the school.

The school is stressing the civic education for the adolescent. It develops national attitudes, gives a knowledge of democracy, a faith in its outcome,and crystallizes habits of conduct for democratic living. The Junior High School is including in its curriculum a course in Citizenship.

c. Social Living in the School.

The present school system aims to contribute to social living. The organization and administration are becoming such as to assist the youth in social reactions. Co-operation and team work in clubs, societies and athletics are a great contributing force. Here the adolescent meets his or her equals and reacts in terms of

their personality. The adolescent receives much religious and social instruction and training through the socialized recitation. Educators realize the necessity of teaching boys and girls "to make life more worth living for all."

d. Virtues Developed through School Life.

Definite virtues are developed, not through instruction concerning the same but by applying these virtues in actual school problems. In athletics, playground exercises, clubs, study periods, recitations and in all school life, the instructor can assist the youth in developing good manners, honesty, helpfulness, gratitude, loyalty, respect and justice, and can eliminate selfishness, dishonesty and corresponding vice. This is being done through activities. The boy in the team cannot cheat for it is contrary to the rules of the game. The personality of a religious or social teacher gives a high ideal for imitation.

e. The School Trains for All Life.

The school trains the adolescent for the home life, the social-civic responsibilities and for a vocation. Thus the boy or girl fills a definite place in society which assists him to serve the group. The school fails if it neglects any phase of adolescent life.

f. Companions in the School.

The school is a force in giving companions for the youth. School chums give either a good or bad reaction. The group is a strong factor in deciding the morals of any individual. Teachers should be alert in watching the choice of companions.

g. Clubs and the School.

Literary societies, athletic clubs, class organizations, Boy Scouts, Camp Fire Girls and other school clubs give an outlet for social expression, develop a lasting loyalty, and train in social living. Their religious value cannot be estimated.

h. Leadership and the School.

The playground is the great laboratory of leadership. In games and contests the natural leader comes to the front. In clubs, through discussion and other activities, leaders are trained. Adolescents, if they are to be more than the rank and file, should receive their training in the school. A wise teacher is on the alert for the youthful leader.

3. Church.

The modern church is a socially reacting unit; it aims to emphasize the human and social elements of religion and to train the boy and girl for actual participation in social life. When such a task is realized then the church is 100 per cent. efficient.

a. The Church as the Correlating Center.

The church takes the separate elements for all the environment and correlates them about social reactions. The home, the school, clubs, companions, reading, and the movies contribute to this process. The adolescent is seeking a reality and validity for his religious life, which he <u>can</u>, but seldom does, find in the social church. He wants

to do social tasks and to be the leader of the group. In the church school, through instruction and social service, in the church clubs, societies, through social interaction, and in the church, through the sermon and personality of pastor and elders, the youth has his or her moral and social ideals "tied up" to life activities and real personalities.

The church in the past has failed here; it has been somewhat autocratic, at times unsocial and anti-practical. Through such a failure it has lost its grip on the adolescent -- the hope of democracy.

b. The Importance of Church School Clubs.

The church school exerts a powerful influence over the youth through training in social life. The only way the church school again can attract the adolescent is by means of a vitalized social program -- church school socials, games, teams, clubs and social service. The societies,-Christian Endeavor, Epworth Leagues, Baptist Young People's Union, church clubs for boys and girls, Pioneer Clubs, Girls' Reserves,-train in social intercourse. They introduce the youths to each other and afford a field for the choice of friends and chums; they also give a natural relationship between the sexes. These friendships are usually of the highest type and moral values are derived from them. The church school is losing the boy and girl at sixteen years of age for it is not giving that type of high idealism which is demanded. This necessity can be met through vital red-blooded church organizations.

c. The Value of Social and Religious Characters of the Church.

The church introduces the growing boy and girl to persons who are religious -- the pastor, the teacher, the club leader, the athletic director, and the church members. Herein lies the highest duty of the church. The boy and girl in their teens are seeking a big brother or sister, an ideal person to chum with, to confide in and to imitate. When such are found religious lives will result and youthful crime and"pranks"will cease.

d. Sermon for Youths.

In many churches a special sermon is given for the young people, and in others the pastors are modifying their messages to suit the youth. His problems, interests and ideals are treated in a popular method. Besides this the social, moral and religious idealism of a wise pastor grips the developing adolescent. If the church is to continue the sermon must contain more of interest to this class.

e. A Vitalized Social Program for the Church.

It is a well known fact that the boy and girl, after attaining puberty, develop interests too vital, too progressive and too human to desire longer to be called Sunday school pupils. The appalling fact is that the church has lost her young people. How are they to be regained? Only through a modern, reconstructed, vitally socialized and dynamic program can this be accomplished. The organization should be not in terms of philosophy or theology, but of

practical, every-day social living. In the church there is too much emphasis placed on Moses and the burning bush and not enough on Christ's principles of living. Modern life demands, not knowledge of an oriental life, but knowledge of the twentieth century drama of existence. The church, for the adolescent, must be an athletic field, with its games, teams and gymnasiums; a club-house with numerous intellectual, social and "friendly" organizations; a "movie" show, with its human reels, not the present, highly censored forms; and a place of social amusements. It should have its athletic meets as well as its Christian Endeavor meetings; its movies and hikes, "feeds," and social receptions as well as its sermons, prayer meetings and decision days. The director of athletics, of the social life, of church clubs, and of religious education will replace the old fashioned "parson" with his pious look and distant unfriendly attitude toward the vigorous life of the young people. His substitute will be a young, well trained business manager and a "friendly sport" to the boys and girls. It is to be remembered that the duty of the church is to train in present practical living and not necessarily to teach of "ceaseless ages to come." This does not of necessity invalidate the present church procedure; it merely includes, with the present practices, more of a vitalized social program.

4. Reading.

Reading is one of the greatest forces in life. That which stimulates the mind produces a response in actual living. If the stimulation is immoral, unreal, and anti-social the response will be likewise. For the nation to reap a harvest of honest, social men and women religious education must control and direct the reading of the youth in social and religious channels.

a. Types of Reading.

Action stories, hero tales, stories of pioneer and of wild west life, of outlaws and of robbers (any story that is stirring, active and imaginative); the "dime novel," "Nick Carter" tales, low-moral stories, anti-social books; the love story for the older boys and girls; the sensuous story with sex information and immoral sex pictures; the easy-going sensational, "flimsy" unreal lives of love; the historical and literary novel with high morals -- all are extensively read.

b. Periodicals.

Magazines, Ladies Home Journal, Saturday Evening Post, The Country Gentleman, the sport paper -- these carry stories for all classes and are widely read by early adolescents. Their subscribers are numbered by millions. The lower class magazine, for instance the Chicago Ledger and the Police Gazette, stories in such are sensual, criminal and anti-social; Church school magazines (each denomination furnishes these); young people's papers, the Youth's Companion, Saint Nicholas, etc. are very popular during this age.

Magazines with low morals and social aims must be eliminated.

c. Newspapers.

The headlines, full of crime, sex, divorce, low ideals and immorality are all the average youth sees of the paper. The pictures are those with the sex appeal, e.g. society pages and the Sunday edition. Stories in the Sunday Edition are of two types: high morals, religious character, intellectual, and debasing tales of social immorality with popular pictures to illustrate. It is for this material the average youth is looking; his social nature is expanding and he seeks "information."

d. Books.

Novels,-historic, literary, "yellow," books of war, stories, poems of action, Bible characters, Y.M. C.A. and Y.W.C.A. books and short stories are very fascinating to adolescents. The public library circulates good books and has many boys' and girls' branches.

e. Dangers of uncontrolled Reading.

Cheap, trashy literature, without style, social content, or ideals; sentimental love stories which degrade the intellect and feeling and give an unreal ideal of life; sensual reading which degrades the sex instinct into a passion are worthless. Bad literature lowers ideals and destroys the ambitions of youth. Just at the time when they should be storing the mind with the best for future thinking usually they are making a "trash pot" of the intellect.

f. Socially Minded Guidance is Necessary for Adolescent Reading.

From reading results the individual. Youth thus receives the "stuff" of real life. Success, ideals, ambitions, loyalty to country, service for others, a desire to be "something" can be taught through a wise selection of reading. In fact any response can be gained from the individual provided the reading is wisely chosen. Hence the importance of a socially controlled reading. The duty of the parent, the teacher, the pastor, the librarian is to place before the socially developing youth that reading material which will best assist in the process of self-realization.

5. Motion Pictures.

One great company says that 10,000,000 people in America attend the movies every day; one show has an average daily attendance of 10,000. Practically every individual in our country attends the show at some time and most people go regularly. Many school children go once, twice, and three times each week.

Everything that is common to life is shown in the movies -- travel, manufacturing, industries, classes of people, hero stories, robberies, love pictures, tragedy, comedy, etc., low moral shows, immoral, unsocial, irreligious -- in fact anything that will interest people is used.

The type of picture which lasts and is successful is determined by the patrons. Sex pictures with embraces, kisses, dancing girls half clad and a sentimental strain are used most because they induce the largest crowds. Adolescents

are quite numerous in attendance. A high type of clean shows, historical or biographical, brings but a small crowd for the average person does not seek such.

The most prevalent type for youths is the picture with the sex appeal. The semi-nude dancer, questionable associations, positions in which sex charms are much in evidence, women who draw men, bathing girls, men who through their actions are attractive to the sexually aroused girl, the picture which shows an appealing love story, the "scarlet woman and the branded girl" -- these draw the young people.

Another popular show is the hero picture, e.g. the historical person in a new and alluring "setting," the hero of a love story, some strong soldier or seaman, a bandit, a cowboy, a "ruffian," a comedian, a young lawyer or minister in some new enterprise, the teacher, a heroine, a mother, a sweetheart, a social worker. With these pictures there is much action -- fighting, train robberies, bank breaking, stealing, killing, shooting, sword fighting -- in fact all action that can be put into a picture to make it appeal to the positive American individual. Such pictures,when describing an immoral or anti-social scene must be eliminated by the censors.

Sandwiched between the movie pictures are educational films giving most valuable and interesting information. Often this can be used to good advantage by the adolescent in school work.

In the love scenes, brothel pictures, robberies, outlaw films, in pictures with a criminal element, positive

low morals, anti-social and irreligious suggestions appear which are the greatest destroyer of adolescent virtues. These are combated by the religious educator. Since a suggestion once made demands a response, much youthful crime has resulted because of the idea lodged in the mind by the show. By some such pictures are rightly called "schools of crime."

There are many pictures, however, with a moral and social basis where throughout these elements are prominent. Pictures which deal with the great emotions and virtues, which crystallize in a personality social life in an ideal form -- truths such as co-operation, loyalty, service, sincerity and international relationships,--played by good actors,with an attractive setting, are doing much to instill a high idealism into adolescents. The only objection is that such pictures heretofore have not been popularized.

Plays which portray anti-social elements are contrary to the ideal of democracy and religion and result in actions, by those who attend them, which are totally devoid of social motivation. Such plays do not assist in the social growth nor in the self-realization of youth, but they hinder the development of a social character. Hence in a religious democracy such plays must be eliminated.

Religious education cannot tolerate any element of crime, lust, passion, sexuality, or immorality. Our duty is to prepare a wholesome environment for the socially immature,and to carry out such a responsibility the low and erroneous must be eliminated.

The movie is here to remain; it has gained its place as a great modern educational factor and rightly can be used by religious education. In fact, in many modern schools, Sunday schools and churches the movie is used in teaching. Then the prerogative of religious education is not only negative; but also there is the positive element -- that of introducing and popularizing wholesome, good, moral, social and religious plays for the youth. Such plays can be developed from the interests of youth, from the real moral hero material available and from any other source which will give an impetus to social living.

6. Companions.

The companions of an individual determine his ideals, habits and morals. As the group is and as the strongest person of the friends is, so are the others likely to be. Many a boy learns to smoke from his friend,and the girl takes her first dancing lesson from her chum. Parents should realize this subtle truth and assist in the selection of uplifting friends.

The Bible says a "little leaven will leaven the lump." Such is true with reference to morals. In two weeks one boy can ruin the work of fifty parents, covering ten to twelve years. The morals of the girl will be no higher than those of her associates. One girl will lead astray the entire number of boys in a small town. Social sin scatters like "wild fire on a western plain." Evil thinking easily springs from the older boy with his vile stories.

Parents usually impart sex knowledge to the boy at about sixteen years of age, while the boy or girl receives the same information from companions at the age of eight or ten. The common talk of a small group of boys will be sex facts. Some older boys are vilely outspoken about such matters. It is surprising how much the pupils of the elementary grades and of the Junior High School think and speak openly of immoral actions. A free, promiscuous association of boys and girls results in a positive lowering of morals. Even between the sexes immoral conversations are common.

As with sex knowledge and ideals, companions determine habits. "Paces are set" by friends. John curses freely and has started to smoke; his companion Jim soon follows suit. Confessions of girls who have gone wrong reveal the startling fact that they first started downward because of the influence of an older initiated friend. Good habits likewise are "catching." Mary asks her friend Florence to attend Sunday school -- the habit is started. The team decide to stop smoking and all follow the rule.

Possibly the greatest social influence exerted by one group upon the individual comes from the "gang" or "clique." The "gang" usually has some form of rules to be obeyed. If it is of a low class those rules may include many social sins; if of a social or moral group these rules may be high, idealistic requirements. This much is true: the individual is highly loyal to his "gang." Its ideals and habits and modes of thinking are his. He loses his personality therein. City

"gangs" exist usually for a social purpose. The youths seek companionship with others of the same age; and the city street gang results.

The children of a neighborhood without a nearby park or playground utilize the street for such a purpose. The American street in the average crowded district is a great socializing agency for the child. Here the youths and children play and meet with each other. The older boys usually congregate on the street corner about dark and tell their "smutty" tales and "just" smoke. If the boy is young he "learns" from his companion of the street; if older from the gang at the corner.

Neighborhood, street and "gang" companions usually are limited and of a similar type, while the school and church, which are farther away and more widely attended, give the boy and girl a wider choice of companions. The American school is the melting pot while the church furnishes the variety of youths so that each may find like-minded friends.

The boy or girl just passing puberty seeks and needs some older counselor and friend. This may be the parent, the church school teacher, the Scout Master, or any worthy friend of the family. Many troubles and evil habits and social sins are thus saved. It is the duty of adults to be friends and companions to the youths entrusted to their care.

Since companions are so potent in molding character and in determining responses to the social order it is the duty of the educative process to give to every socially immature individual those companions both of the same age, intelligence,

class and distinction and of greater age, higher intelligence and more developed social powers, who will assist the individual in the process of personal-social self-realization. This demands the choice of social companion for the youth by the home, school and church.

SUMMARY

1. The individual is a personal reacting unit and in his completion functions in every act.

2. Present responses are "colored" by past experiences and can be determined only in the light of such experiences.

3. Early adolescence is that expansion of the complete personality, resultant from the physical phenomena of puberty. The expression of this expansion is social.

4. This socially expanding personality of early adolescence, as affected by the complete environment -- the home, school, church, reading, motion pictures, companions and all other elements -- gives the future response in the social order.

5. The prerogative of religious education is to guide, control and purify this environment so that it will react upon the individual in producing personal-social self-realization.

PART III.

THE CHURCH SCHOOL CURRICULA

A. THE CHURCH SCHOOL

After discussing the general environment of early adolescence, we turn to that more highly specialized form of environment afforded in the direct instruction or curriculum of the church school.

1. Aim of the Church School.

Negatively, the aim of religious education through the church school is not to develop church membership, nor to unfold the latent religiosity of the youth, nor necessarily to save the child's soul in the ages to come, nor merely to give religious instruction; but, positively, the aim is the production of a character whose motivation is entirely social -- the development of individual responses which are at all times for group welfare and the stimulation of that growth which culminates in personal-social self-realization. The motive for such action must be located in a social will. The church school becomes 100 per cent. efficient where it develops a personal will of a social type.

2. Selection of Material.

The curriculum material used by the church school, according to the principle for the selection of material formulated in Part I, can only be that which corresponds to the development of adolescents, their present attainment in social growth, their states of mentality and of emotional responses, and their dangers, interests and opportunities, and to the social aims of religious education. Content other than this will violate either the personality of the youth or the aims. An example of the first type of

error is: in teaching about the "Vine and branch," to develop a mystical theory of spiritual unity; this is beyond the adolescent. The second type of error is: learning all the names and supposed dates of the Kings of Israel; from such there is derived no social value whatever.

3. Acid Test of Social Reactions.

Then the definite criterion for the correlation of activities and choice of subject matter and curriculum is the acid test in developing social reactions. That which does not result thus should be excluded for it does not assist the adolescent in group living nor in self-realization. Since the modern scientific spirit of pragmatism and the boldness of higher criticism have freed us from the traditional authority of a paper Pope, as Luther freed us from the Catholic Pope, religious educators will not be limited and hampered in the choice of social-civic-religious material, nor will they disregard social reactions and set aside the psychology of adolescence for the sake of material for 2,000 years conceived as the perfection of truth and the consummation of religious and spiritual values. However, this material is used as showing the religious development of a race of people, and as it expresses truth and as social contacts with modern life appear it is of the utmost value.

4. Present Material.

a. Biblical.[1]

Hero stories of the Kingdom of Israel;

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1. This is taken directly from the Lesson Material for the Intermediate Department.

Prophets of Israel; Kings of Israel; Moses, Abraham, Joseph, Elijah, etc.; oriental civilization of 3,000 to 2,000 years ago; thought life of same ages; New Testament material; Life of Jesus, Paul and other apostles and early leaders of the New Testament Church. In the presentation of most of this the traditional interpretation is followed, and the material is unrelated to life in numerous places. God often is viewed as a hard, harsh, exacting ruler; the life of Christ is usually presented in a fair manner. When such material is socialized it results in the self-realization of the adolescent.

b. Extra-Biblical.

There is being introduced in the lessons much social-civic material through hero stories, great preachers' and missionaries' lives, problems of adolescence, knowledge of community, state, nation and world, life in mission lands and much distinct economic material. In so doing the church school is giving a direct social basis to its religious instruction and is realizing the social aims of religion. The International series introduces but a small amount of such material through missionary lives; the Chicago material has but one book on boyhood problems; Scribners has interspersed throughout social material; while the greatest amount of the Beacon Series consists of such. Coe says that with the use of Biblical and extra-biblical material a well balanced curriculum is assured.

5. Aims of Graded Lessons.

The Graded Lesson Series in the Church School is an attempt: a. to make the child the center of instruction,

not the material as was formerly done. The older idea was to teach the Bible although unrelated to life, still since the material was therein, it should be learned by all. Even the dull lifeless names and genealogies were given to the hero-interested, active youth. Favored passages were placed in the mind, though the spirit of the same should be far beyond the comprehension of the pupil. At present Biblical material is used more than any other, still the aim is to select such parts as will best correlate with the interest and needs of the adolescent. (b) The second aim of the Graded Lessons is to introduce into the curriculum more social-civic present-day material. Modern religious thinking has shown that Biblical material alone is insufficient to meet the social demands made on the pupil. In many places such content is obsolete. An elastic, social, all-inclusive curriculum is now provided. (c) The last aim of such reconstructed Lessons grows out of the first and second aims, that is, the desire to give such material as will force a practical, social-civic-religious response from the individual. This material is selected from all sources -- the Bible, history, literature, biography -- which will satisfy these three aims.

6. Types of Graded Lessons.

a. The Constructive Series (Prepared by the University of Chicago Press).

(1) 12th year, 7th grade. Paul of Tarsus (Atkinson, 1907). This is a constructive story of the life of Paul, in which much time is given to his boyhood and his adventurous

travels. The object is to inspire courage and loyalty to a cause and to give a genuine reality to the life of Paul. He is shown to be an industrious boy, a man among men, courageous, full of life and vigor, a type of man to appeal to the adolescent boy and girl. The method is to give the material from the Bible and it is very scholastic.

(2) 13th year, 8th grade. The Gospel According to Mark, (Burton, 1904). This is a careful and scholastic study of the most graphic of the gospels, aided by notes, questions for discussion, maps and pictures. The entire Gospel is used. The aim is to give a mastery of the technique of Bible study by books through a correct method of the Book of Mark. The author tries to inspire the pupil with the supreme and fascinating personality of Jesus.

Or, the First Book of Samuel (Willet, 1909). The entire book of First Samuel is used. The aim and method is the same as for the above book. The biographies of Old Testament men are given in their oriental religious, social and economic conditions in such a way as to "carry over" to the life of the youth.

(3) 14th year, 9th grade. The Life of Christ (Burgess, 1910). This is a careful historical life of Christ as constructed from the four Gospels. It is presented in such a way as to appeal to the adolescent who is beginning to think for himself. As aided by outside reading, maps, illustrations and topics for discussion it gives an ideal textbook for the life of Christ.

(4) 15th year, 10th grade. The Hebrew Prophets or Leaders and Patriots of Israel,(Chamberlain, 1907). From the Biblical accounts the lives and problems of the leaders of Israel are studied. The method used aims to show the youth how hard places were met by the prophets and thus to inspire the boy or girl to meet their moral, social and civic problems in the same manner. The full Biblical text is used and it gives the message of religious leaders to their own and to modern times.

Or, Problems of Boyhood (Johnson, 1914). This book is intended as a course in ethics for the High School boy. The author aims to discuss the social and moral problems of the boy from a practical, straight-from-the-shoulder point of view. Such as the following are treated: habits, honesty, gambling, slang, profanity, the sex problem, tobacco, self-control, loyalty, citizenship, clubs, success and religion. The book is graphic and the style is easy to follow -- just the type of study boys need.

(5) Criticism. With the exception of Problems of Boyhood, the material is entirely Biblical and in many places poorly graded to the adolescent. The work on Samuel in places is too obsolete and too unrelated to the life of youths. Throughout the course seems to be too far distant from actual boy or girl life. The works are filled with the ideals of the times in which they were written -- from 1904 to 1910. The method may be too scholastic for youths. The vital interests of adolescence are obscured by a desire to present traditional Biblical material. Most of the courses lack an

identification of instruction, life and experience. Problems of Boyhood (1914) is filled with the spirit of modern thinking, and it cannot be praised highly enough.

b. The completely Graded Series (Prepared by Chas. Scribners' Sons).

(1) 12th year, 7th grade. Christian Apostles and Missionaries (Hunting, 1912). This course gives a vivid description of the early apostles and missionaries, their struggles, trials and achievements. Throughtout Biblical material is used. The martyrdom of Stephen, the conference at Jerusalem and a few activities of apostles' lives are discussed briefly. The work of Paul is the major element. The salient factors in his life are given in a most adventurous way. Illustrative of the Bible texts is given much outside biographical material. This is well graded for and interesting to youths.

(2) 13th year, 8th grade. Heroes of the Faith (Gates, 1909). The aim is to present strong, heroic men to the adolescents in such a way as to stir up loyalty and conviction in the youths. Ten Biblical characters such as Abraham, Moses, David, Jonathan, Elijah, Esther, etc. are interspersed among twenty-six extra-Biblical persons,as Livingstone, John Howard, Florence Nightingale, Wycliff, Chinese Gordon, Frances E. Willard, Knox, etc. These lessons are not chronological, but the aim is to present Bible characters with modern characters, and the arrangement is according to interest and lives.

(3) 14th year, 9th grade. Christian Life and Conduct (Hunting, 1910). This is an analysis of the principles of the Bible as applied to practical life. The aim is to assist the child in making the transition of conduct to that of young people who desire to live Christian and social lives. The material is well graded to the development of the expanding boy or girl. (a) Living by standards of law. Right to life, property, truth, rest, parents, justice, etc. (b) Living by standards of prophets. Habits, self-control, work, contentment, worship, service, etc. (c) Living by standards of Jesus. The Christian, and Jesus, in the family, his enemies, thoughts, liberty and Heavenly Father, etc.

And, Historical Geography of Bible Lands (Hodge, 1915). To be used for three consecutive months. A most dry, dull, uninteresting book, full of dates of cities and descriptions of the same, etc. This is a very poorly graded work for the developing of active youths.

(4) 15th year, 10th grade. The Story of our Bible (Forbush, 1914). This tells how the Bible came to us. It is not full of dry dates and names but shows how the books of the entire Bible developed. It covers the works of the Hebrews, then treats of the New Testament Books, after which it discusses the translations of the Bible into many languages, Latin, German, English, etc. It is interesting to read. The aim is to give a modern theory of Biblical Criticism in a popular way to adolescents and to give the youths a modern view of the Bible. The outstanding criticism seems to be: is it worth while to spend one year in giving a theory of

the Bible, while there is so much social material that will give a strong religious reaction?

(5) Criticism.

A development in modern thinking is clearly shown in this series -- 1909-1915. The last course is an attempt to eliminate the doctrine of Biblical Verbal inspiration, by showing the Bible to be a human book. The extra-Biblical material which is introduced in the 8th and 9th grade is a serious attempt to give a social background to the religious process. The interspersion of Biblical and social heroes is worthy of commendation, while the geographical part is a complete failure and the 10th grade desires to teach a theory rather than to result in social living.

c. Beacon Series (Prepared by the American Unitarian Association).

(1) 12th year, 7th grade. An Heroic Nation (Whitman, expected 1921). The purpose of the book is to set forth the Old Testament story so graphically that it will live again in the minds and hearts of the pupils and the Biblical writings will throb with human interest. The approach is vital and social rather than literary.

(2) 13th year, 8th grade. The Story of Jesus. (Buck, 1917). This presents the story of Jesus from the three Gospels in a clear and modern manner. Jesus is studied as a real human man who goes about doing good, serving others and teaching the people. Modern social problems are introduced through the principles of Jesus' teaching. It is presented from the Unitarian standpoint and is written in such a style as to attract the adolescent.

(3) 14th year, 9th grade. The Work of the Apostles (Sanderson, 1918). The story of the founding of the Christian Church is presented from the Book of Acts. In a very attractive manner it is related to the work of Peter and Paul. Throughout reference is made to the Bible, but the text is not followed. As in the other courses, the aim is to link this with modern social and civic living.

Or, From the Gospel to the Creeds (Sullivan, 1919). This shows the history of Christianity as developing from the life and work of Christ until it is concretized in the creeds. This is too historical and too advanced for this age. (Is usually used at 16 years of age.)

(4) 15th year, 10th grade. Our Part in the World (Cabot, 1918). The writer aims to show the personal relation of the adolescent to the social order and to present the demands which that order will make on him. This is a distinct course in social and civic life, and it helps the youth to find his place in society. The following are typical of topics treated: the world moulded by man, family; neighborhood; city; state; America and freedom; equality, justice, and education; Internationalism; success and devotion, imagination, truth, loyalty, courage, team work, etc. This is a year worth the time of any youth. Distinct social and religious responses are resultant from such a course of study.

(5) Criticism.

Herein is an advanced contribution to religious education. It is based on modern social principles of religion and the interpretation is well graded to the youth.

The fervent evangelical person will find lacking much of his distinct emotionalism, but he who conceives of religion in terms of an intelligent social response to society will here find his desires satisfied. Another point is worth mentioning -- the material has all been produced since 1917, thus assuring us of its modernity.

d. Christian Nurture (Episcopal).

(1) 12th year, 7th grade. The Life of Our Lord. The distinct aim is to give an interesting story of Christ's life. The method is somewhat stereotyped, and much memory work is required. The underlying principle is to train the youth in Episcopal church life; in each lesson certain facts of church organization are developed.

(2) 13th year, 8th grade. The Long Life of the Church. This course naturally follows the Life of Christ; it shows how Christ's teaching and the church have come down to us in the present church system. The course deals with the apostles, Paul, great men who preserved the church institution, such as Jerome, Boniface, Luther, Wesley, Bishop White and numerous other noted Episcopal Bishops and lastly with the individual's Diocese and Parish. Much biography is used, but the aim is to show how the church continued by building beautiful cathedrals, by preserving the Bible, by celebrating the Sacrament and by continuing the ministry and that such are obligatory on all Episcopalians. Here again it seems as if system is taught, rather than a child trained to live a social life.

(3) 14th year, 9th grade. Winning the World. This covers in a matter-of-fact, lifeless manner, the missionary history of the church. It treats of Christianity and the Roman Empire, the Barbarians, Japan and China, etc. Biography is used to show the struggles the missionaries had in conquering each country. The aim is similar to that of the preceding course.

(4) 15th year, 10th grade. The Bible in Outline. This covers the entire Bible by discussing the following periods: the beginning of the Hebrew nation; the monarchy; the exile, the return; the work of Christ; Paul; the close of the New Testament Era. The aim as set forth in the course is to give a deeper religious relationship and a more comprehensive significance to the Bible as a whole. A difficult task to be realized by adolescents who want life, not facts; action not theory.

(5) Criticism.

Here we have a separate type of religious aims and methods of instruction. Those aims are church membership with reference to social living. The method at times is that of teaching an arbitrary accumulation of facts, not training a social character. The criterion of selection is not the youth and social aims, but church organization and Biblical instruction. However, to realize the aims established the pedagogical procedure is the most valid and certain. But men live a real, present, social life and they are not caring about liturgy and facts concerning an historic order.

e. International Series (Methodists, Baptists, Presbyterians and Congregationalists).

(1) 12th year, 7th grade. Gospel Stories. The aim of this course is to present Jesus as the example and Saviour; to show that the Christian life is a life of service; and to deepen the interest in the Bible. First the Gospel of Mark is studied; the life and work of Jesus is clearly presented. One quarter is spent studying modern missionary stories; the lives of Moffat, John Williams, Duff, Sheldon Jackson and others are described. Then the story of our Bible is given in a few lessons. Finally the Acts are studied with a view to giving an account of the work of the apostles. Here is presented a vast amount of material in a short length of time. Instead of giving one entire year studying "Our Bible" it is finished in a few lessons. The missionary stories are attractively selected and well written; always a thought which would appeal to the youth is given, such as "opening China at the point of a lancet."

(2) 13th year, 8th grade. Leaders of Israel. The aim is to present ideal heroic living as exemplified by leaders of Israel who were inspired by faith in Jehovah and by North American leaders of similar faith. The first three quarters discuss Israel's leaders, such as Abraham, Esau, Moses, Joseph, David, Elijah, Jonah, Daniel, etc. The last quarter is spent in studying religious leaders in

North America. Roger Williams, John Eliot, Penn, Bishop Asbury, D. L. Moody, Neal Dow and others are treated of. Each lesson is well written and should appeal to the youth. Too often the connection with actual life is distant and the instructor teaches biographies rather than trains youths.

(3) 14th year, 9th grade. Christian Leaders. Here the aim is to present the ideals of the Christian life as exemplified by leaders inspired by Jesus. (a) Early Christian leaders, New Testament men, Peter, John, Stephen, Timothy, etc. (b) Paul, the missionary, his boyhood, new life, a prisoner who preached to rulers, his death. (c) Later Christian Leaders, Justin Martyr, Bernard, Savonarola, William Carey. The great men of the church are given. (d) Some famous friendships: Ruth and Naomi, David and Jonathan, Paul and Luke,-what it means to be a friend. This is a very interesting course in that it covers a vast amount of material and includes men of action who appeal to adolescents.

(4) 15th year, 10th grade. The life of Christ. The aim is to set before the pupil through a study of the life of Jesus the highest ideal of Christian living and to lead the pupil to accept Jesus as their Saviour. (a) Jesus entering upon his life's work. (b) Jesus in the midst of popularity. (c) Jesus facing opposition and death. The life of Jesus is presented in a clear and precise manner; the heroic is called out of the youth. Jesus' courage in the face of opposition is shown and the material tries to "carry over" such ideals to life. (d) A modern disciple of

Jesus: David Livingstone. The life of Livingstone is studied for three months. In many places is becomes uninteresting for the reason that the story is slow in its development. There are given too many dead facts and "action" suffers.

(5) Criticism.

This course offers a more distinctively Christian or Christ element than the others. The Constructive is Biblical and develops method; the Scribners aims at social living; the Beacon has its civic-social element with its distinct interpretation of Christ; the Christian Nurture builds up an ecclesiastical organization for the youth to serve; while the International Series tries to present a distinctively Christ ideal. Throughout the four years such elements enter in. Too often this ideal is but a theory and the material fails to realize it. Variety is not lacking. The change from one type of material to another comes almost every three months for which reason the continuity of the ideal is lost. In most places the ideal instead of the youth determines the curriculum. The social-civic material is lacking except where religious biographies are studied. That great element of social expansion must be satisfied by something other than the church school. Not one lesson treats of the problems of adolescence.

A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE CURRICULA

Constructive	Scribners	Beacon	Christian Nurture	International
Paul of Tarsus	Christian Apostles and Missionaries (Paul)	The Hebrew Nation	The Life of Our Lord	1. Mark 2. Missionary Stories 3. How our Bible came 4. Acts
The Gospel of Mark The First Book of Samuel	Heroes of the Faith (10 Bible characters 26 great Christian men and mission-aries)	The Story of Jesus	The Long Life of the Church (Great Church Leaders)	1. Leaders of Israel 2. Religious Leaders in North America
The Life of Christ	Christian Life and Conduct (Social Ethics) & Historical Geography of Bible lands	The Work of the Apostles or From the Gospels to the Creeds	Winning the World (Missionary Stories)	1. The Life of Christ 2. Famous Friendships 3. David Livingstone
The Hebrew Prophets or Problems of Boyhood	The Story of our Bible	Our Part in the World (Social Ethics)	The Bible in Outline	1. Early Christian Leaders 2. Paul 3. Later Christian Leaders

7. Errors Fostered.

a. Throughout each course, even in places of the Beacon Series, there is a traditional emphasis on Biblical material. For 2,000 years the church has believed the Bible to be the only storehouse of material for religious instruction, and all parts of equal value in training any individual in religion -- the child, the youth or the aged. Hence it is but natural to expect the modern church to be bound by such theological beliefs and to find it difficult to loosen such chains of bondage. This is more especially true in the International Series for its basic conception is such. The Constructive Series includes all Biblical material with an optional book for boys of the 15th year. Scribners' Series has used the Bible as basic and even in introducing extra-Biblical content the Bible is used as a background. The Christian Nurture Series is freer from such than the others, since for two years of the four they are giving instruction in church organization through church history. Two instances from the Constructive Series are noticeable; the entire books of Mark and of First Samuel are studied. Rather than making use of only the very best of each book, then including the best of other books, traditionally they are bound to the desire of teaching the technique of mastery of Bible books as such.

When the Bible is viewed as the "Religious Ultimatum," the aims and criterion of religious education are forgotten and child psychology is cast aside as a valueless study to be

used only by "old maid school teachers" and professors who are opposed to the spirit of religion. The only ideal is knowledge of Biblical facts; as illustrated in the 15th year of the Christian Nurture Series, the definite aim is to teach the entire Bible in outline to the youth, and to give a mastery of Biblical interpretation, an instance of which is the case of the Constructive Series just mentioned. Such procedure stifles definite social reconstruction in modern living. The stories of David, of Lot and of Noah are taught without an adequate application of principles involved in practical social life. Religious education can progress only when traditionalism is outworn, outlived, destroyed and burned in mental effigy and when religious educators are free to draw that social-religious material from all sources which will best assist the youth in the process of social self-realization.[1]

b. Conservativism is fostered in Biblical interpretation. This is partially true of the International and Christian Nurture Series; while the Scribners' and Beacon Series give a modern interpretation. The Beacon Series candidly expresses such an idea in the preface to its work. Often the story of Adam and Eve in the garden by some untrained editors is given a most fantastical interpretation, is accepted literally, and the youth is warned against any modern scientific

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1. The writer does not aim to eliminate the great religious value of Biblical material; rather he seeks to combat one type of interpretation and to expand the field of curriculum material.

interpretation by quotation of the verse in Revelation concerning the woes pronounced upon the man who "adds to the Book." The story of the flood, Lot's wife and her salt sack are given to display to the youth the "mighty power of the offended Almighty;" rather then giving some story to show God's friendship or some social content. The genealogies and Jonah and his fish tale are accepted without a question and without a study of Biblical criticism. Youths are taught that the Old Testament is a definite, God-inspired history of religious belief; and in giving a modern basis for religion the Old Testament is accepted as a part of religious procedure; Judaism is bound up with Christianity, while Christianity is but a blind acceptance of the same. "How irreligious it all is!" Why give the adolescent, seeking social expression, facts of an obsolete life in such a way that he or she cannot believe? The church is reaping what she has sowed by losing her youths;she blindly wonders why it is that that scepticism and unbelief have taken hold of the young people.

The Unitarian Church has broken away from such. A principle for the guidance of religious educators is: in teaching Biblical material use the final word of Biblical interpretation, not as a skeleton of dry bones, but as a living, constructive, social being.

c. A third highly erroneous conception is fostered. In the Christian Nurture thoroughly and in parts of the International Series, the ideal of response is church membership, rather than social living. The aim of religious

instruction is not and can never be mere church membership. This builds up a system, an ecclesiastical organization, and does not result in a vital, social character. The condemnation of such an ideal cannot be too strong. Creeds, sects and denominations have long enough dissipated the power of religion; all modern emphasis should be upon unity, attained only by means of social characters trained to react through religious education. A knowledge of church life can well be given but it should be distinctly related to sound living.

8. Elements Lacking.

a. A Social Consciousness.

In all the courses there is lacking much material that will develop a conscious relationship to the group, duties to the same and those social feeling elements, such as group loyalty, a sense of social responsibility and a feeling of oneness with society -- the production of a social consciousness. There is a scant amount of material that will result in an intellectual-social-political attitude toward the group as the organization in which the individual "lives and moves and has his being." In "Our Part in the World" of the Beacon Series and in "Christian Life and Conduct" of Scribners', a few lessons are given relative to group relationships. If the youth were dependent upon his religious instruction for the development of a social consciousness, he would be as devoid of such as a fictitious character, from birth living by himself on a lone island. The material is not there.

It will be objected that the duty of religious education is not the development of a social consciousness, that such is being done by other organizations, but that its duty is to bring the youth to a "full knowledge of the saving power of Christ" or to "lead the church membership" or to "unfold the religious capacity" of the youth. The answer is that such may be a part of the aim of religious education, but the objectives also include the production of a social-religious character. The motivation, let it be what it may, the result must be social reactions, and for such a definite knowable social relationship must exist for the individual, or a social consciousness must be produced.

Herein the church has failed for no social consciousness has resulted. Oftentimes it is hoped that studying the method of David in facing his social problems, or of Elijah and his times, or Paul and his shipwrecks and Boniface with his moral courage would give the desired result. Modern educational practice has taught us to be direct in our plan of attack. Religious educators have hoped to realize too great returns from their indirect approach to the subject.

Throughout all religious instruction must run the dominant strain of social living.

b. Social Material to Carry Over to Life.

Since the duty of the religious educator is to produce in the adolescent a social response, and since the mind functions directly in responding to stimulation, social material from the social-civic-religious life of the youth should form a distinct part of the curriculum. Such material

at present is lacking. What is the present social relation to the life of the adolescent of the numerous battles of the Kings of Israel, the slaughter of lambs in the sacrifice of the Hebrews, the Hebrews in bondage to the Egyptian, the making of the golden calf, the three Hebrew children in the furnace, Jonah and the whale, Stephen's martyrdom, Paul's imprisonment and his teaching concerning women in the church, or Timothy's work in some unknown, distant place? None whatever! Indirectly there may be introduced a social element, but such elements are usually so overshadowed by the dry listless narrative that no social or religious values are received. As Coe exclaims, "What a valley of dry bones! How irreligious it all is!" Such material may be interesting as myths and fables, corresponding to the myths of the Greeks, the tales of the Romans and the fables of the Hindus, and of value to teachers of literature, but in the production of a social intent or will and an ethical character it is entirely lacking! It is well to remember our aim as that of making boys and girls live a real moral life and not merely the instruction in literary lore.

In the Constructive Series there is but one optional book, "Problems of Boyhood," for the 15th year, dealing directly with present social experience. The remaining are entirely unrelated to life; or at least they are as closely correlated to life as the fables of Aesop or the Wars of the Roses, or the story of the Reformation, or the Buddhists' Conquest of Japan. They do not carry as much present social value as some twentieth century well written novel with a deep spiritual, social and

religious basis. The other series are as bad or even worse than this. Scribners' has but one entire book dealing with adolescent social problems. The Christian Nurture Series has not one lesson on social life; instead they drag an ambitious, emotional, red-blooded American boy and an enthusiastic, socially-minded, love-attracted, athletic girl through twenty centuries of Bishops and anathemas, ex-communications and cathedrals, sacraments and liturgy up to the Throne of Modern Life, stir within them a hope that all this dreary material and these dead men are only introductory and preparatory to social living and practical problems. Before these aspirations have fairly blossomed they find themselves started on a pilgrimage, more lifeless, more distant, and more unscenic than the preceding one - "An Outline of the Bible." God forbid that such teaching, in the name of religion and fostered by a Christian church, should long continue.[1]

The Unitarians, with their religious liberty, have dared to use only one book on social life -- "Our Part in the World." With the exception of the life of Jesus, they are even worse then some others in their choice of material -- "An Heroic Nation" and "Hero Lives." For in such they have neither the religious, spiritual, emotional appeal of the Methodists nor the church organization of Episcopalians to arouse loyalty.

The International Series, out of the 208 lessons, has two lessons on direct social living -- leadership and friendship -- and only 40 lessons on extra-Biblical hero material.

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1. It will be well to remind the reader that we do not attack Biblical knowledge as such; and we contend that this vast amount of valuable religious material should be interpreted constructively and should be related to social living.

Usually these are presented in such a way to the youth as to be only dead men about whom they have to learn. There is no direct social motivation.

c. Material for Social Motivation.

Since the duty of religious education is to produce a social character, direct social material will, with the greatest efficiency, best realize this aim. The social stimulus for such a response is lacking. Could the story of the burning of Sodom or that of Moses and the quails in the wilderness cause the adolescent to be a truer friend, a more helpful member of the family or more loyal to the group? Would the genealogies of Jesus, showing his descent from David and Joseph and Abraham and Noah and Seth and Adam, cause the adolescent girl to develop that intellectual conception of life to be spent in the service of contemporaries or the necessary social attitude of faith in the social life and in friendship? Would the story of the Tower of Babel or that of the missionary conquest of the early barbarians by Christians develop in the youth habits of social response, moral conduct, self-reliance, social initiative or co-operation? Our answer reverberates from the vacant chairs in the small church school assembly rooms of thousands of Protestant churches No, nevermore, no!

Religious educators seem to have forgotten their objectives. Let the motivation be what it may, religious education must produce social responses. Material for this end is lacking. That material which is now included is valuable, but other social material also should be introduced.

d. Socially Correlating Material.

Another element that is distinctly missing in the present curriculum of religious education is that material which will correlate all the activities of the home, school, street, church, etc. around social reaction. Each phase of his environment makes its demands upon the youth; the motivation of these responses should be the social correlation which results from the church. Each environment contributes its elements; the duty of religious education is to take elements from the several environments, "color them" with social reactions, "tie them up" to social living and "make them all contribute" to the process of social response through self-realization. As this social material is lacking in the other cases so is it here. We have failed to correlate life about social living through religious education. Are we willing to say "Let their blood be upon us" when we "stand before the great judgment throne of God?"

9. Constructive Elements Recommended.

a. Determine the needs of adolescence.

Since the aims of religious education will not permit us to teach mere Biblical facts as such, and since the Biblical material and the social experience may be unwisely chosen to result in social living, then it is necessary to determine the needs of each child and to suit a curriculum to those needs.

(1) Study individual environment, capacities, mentality, deficiency in emotional responses, etc. Then study the social environment of each youth, find the demands of such, and those elements suited to each type of individual. (2) The child is

used as the center of the curriculum. Material should not be taught merely for its own sake, but should be used as it will best assist the individual to realize the aims and to react on his highest level of efficiency both for himself and for the group. In the present curriculum practically the only elements in accordance with the psychology of early adolescence are the hero materials. The other vast interests and necessities, such as collections, group action and interest in outside nature study are entirely slighted. It will be remembered that these new elements are to be socialized.

b. Social Elements to Produce Response.

Since the response is in terms of the stimuli used to produce social functioning, the content must be social. These social elements cannot be chosen blindly, but from the life of each child. The home, its organization, pleasures, friendships, activities, problems, relations with other homes, with the community, state and nation, its worship, nature, reading, papers, books, financial condition and control; the school, its studies, games, friends, teachers, clubs; the community; the shows; the friends and companions from the clubs and "gangs;" the city, state, nation and world -- in fact the entire environment of the youth affords the problems and interests and material for social instruction and training. These elements are to be used to cause the youth to respond socially. Loyalty is better taught through club work, games and athletics than through a study of the second chapter of Mark; co-operation through home duties rather than through knowing of Peter's denial of Jesus; friendship through actual friends

rather than by learning of Moses and the tables of stone; sincerity through actual relations of trust in the home and school rather than through memorizing the names of the kings of Israel and distinguishing between the major and minor prophets and giving the dates of each. This does not mean that these Biblical facts have no religious value; it only means that there could be a wise choice of materials used.

Virtue is developed through social activities drawn directly from the social relationships of the adolescent. The entire life, interests and activities of the individual are to furnish the needed field for the selection of material and the determination of activities used to develop character.

c. All Content Socialized.

All content used in religious education must be socialized. There is great danger that in ceasing to use the Bible as the only source of material we shall go to the other extreme and introduce any element and eliminate the Bible altogether. As in the Christian Nurture Series, the historical part is as wholly unrelated to the social process as was the Biblical material. That which is taught must in every case contribute to the social process. As in civic training, only subject matter of civic value is taught, so is it in religious education. If family relations are discussed, if the heroic life of David is studied, if the adventures of Livingstone and Stanley are used, those parts alone which help the adolescent in his difficulties and problems should be permitted. Our duty is to develop habits and ideals and ambitions that will make a youth

most social and religious; we work not for the mere pleasure of giving instruction, "hit or miss."

d. Use More Life Material.

At present three fourths of the curriculum consists directly of Biblical content while the greater part of the remainder has a Biblical background. Religious education can learn a lesson from secular education. In the reconstruction of the present school system only such content is allowed to remain as will assist in the life process. Theoretical studies are giving away to practical vocational and economic ones. Such a change in religious instruction should be concomitant with the social reconstruction in religion. The theoretical and abstract is eliminated by pragmatism; to assist in this process such a change must take place in religious education. Practical social problems from the home, school, church, street, etc. should be used along with the Biblical material. Would it be irreligious for the church school to train in civic betterment by cleaning up streets, etc. or to give a practical course covering vocational guidance from the purely social and ethical standpoint, treating of the relation of men within each vocation, the relations of vocations to each other and the civic responsibility of each? Would it be anti-social and contrary to the "Ultimate" to give a graded course in friendship, success, personality, problems of life, smoking, slang, cursing, evil habits, dancing, bad companions? Would the response be less religious and less valid if the grave dangers of an uncontrolled sex life, of an irrational temper, of movies of low moral, and of trashy sentimental reading were taught

during the 15th year instead of, or along with, the "Bible in Outline" or the "Lives of Christ and Livingstone," or the "Hebrew Prophets"? Surely no wise person in the presence of youth demanding social truth could answer these questions in the negative. It would be more social, more human, more moral, yea, more religious for the church to guide her blind youth just springing into the great open world of adolescence than to teach about men of ages gone by.

In the present series there is much biographical material. An erroneous criterion has been used in most cases in the selection of the character treated. Why discuss certain bishops or missionaries or temperance workers when other men, other characters, have lived a more adventurous and thrilling life and one as social as these? The criterion in selection of such cases usually has been that these men are noted church worthies or missionaries highly respectedby their denomination - in fact they were selected because of church affiliations. Why not give a course covering George Washington, Abraham Lincoln, Theodore Roosevelt, etc., men secular in their duties but still thrilling, moral and religious at all times and places?

e. A longitudinal Correlation around Social Reactions.

The social material used should not be haphazard -- a matter of chance -- but should be progressive, logical, consecutive and correlated longitudinally about social living. This applies to the entire course in religious education, starting with the beginners and primary pupils the curriculum should be social and drawn from their own experience; then the same

principle should be applied to the junior and intermediate departments -- social material from the life experience of the youth and suited to his developing needs. In the senior years the social problems can well be discussed in the light of the preceding development and training. Or as the child expands into a youth and then into a young man, so should the curriculum expand as it is correlated around social living. The elements of each stage should be based directly on the preceding curriculum, growing out of it and expanding and enlarging as the individual develops.

This principle applied to the intermediate curriculum would mean a reconstruction of the same. The Christian Nurture Series discusses the life of Jesus and then church history after which the youth is conducted again to the barren wilderness of the Old Testament. This haphazard method is more in evidence in the International Series. We have the life of Christ and then Jewish patriots, followed by the Acts of the Apostles after which come missionaries and finally Paul. This is not based on a logical procedure. The Biblical and social material should be graded to the development of the youth.

f. Consciousness of World Relationship.

The essential contribution of the twentieth century is internationalism and a feeling of world relationship. Growing out of the desire of religious education to impart a social consciousness comes the necessity of giving an international and world relationship. Men are brothers, all interested in common problems. This great principle is the completion of the social consciousness and should form an integral

element in the educative process.

g. Develop Hero Material.

Adolescents are sensori-motor minded, highly suggestible and imitative and they are also worshippers of ideal men and women. Then, as is the case with the present form of religious instruction, biographies should form a part of the socialized program. There should be used the most attractive, red-blooded, stirring lives of men and women, selected from all lands and climes, all classes and distinctions both sacred and secular, Biblical and extra-Biblical -- churchmen, statesmen, adventurers, pioneers and scientific characters.

With this end in view more hero material for early adolescence should be produced by the greatest writers of fiction in which real, human, moral, social and religious elements will predominate. Youths will read and will idealize that which they read. It is the preeminent duty of religious educators to place within their reach such social and religious and moral material as will cause them to have imbued deeply within their consciousness the highest, purest and most desirable ideals possible.

h. Dramatization of Hero Stories.

Another constructive element growing out of the sensori-motor element of adolescence is the use of drama in presenting character plays. These dramas, written in such a way as to appeal to the emotional and social element of the youth, when acted, have a lasting and valid moral and social effect upon the participants.

i. The Motion Picture.

It is a principle of adolescent psychology that the more attractive, fascinating and stirring the appeal, the greater will be the response; also that the stimulation which carries with it an emotional response is more lasting and tends to be recalled with a recurrence of the emotion. Of all the modern contributions to clear, fascinating, appealing and emotion-stirring methods of arousing and attracting people, especially adolescents, the motion picture is the greatest. Any contribution of value to the educative process can well be used by religious educators. Such is the case with the motion picture. Our problem is not that of teaching mere knowledge as such, but teaching knowledge that will motivate character and produce the quickest and most permanent responses. For this purpose the "movie" is our instrument. Pictures of action, hero stories, moral and social elements and themes of the highest type can be produced and used. The great hero stories of the Bible may well be used. In fact, any element used in a modern socialized program of religious education may be presented from the screen and efficiency will be doubled.

SUMMARY.

1. The curriculum of the church school consists of Biblical and extra-Biblical material with a preponderance of Biblical content.

2. Graded Lessons are an attempt to grade the curriculum to the development of the youth and to introduce more social-civic material.

3. As organized, these lessons foster religious traditionalism and conservatism and lack that vital element

which would result from a course free to use social material as well as Biblical material.

4. To satisfy the demands of a religiously reconstructed age the curriculum of religious education must be socialized in terms of practical living, and this socialization should be in accordance with the objectives of religion and the development of the individual.

CONCLUSION

In Part I religion is conceived as a "man's quest for vital relationship with the best in the 'Ultimate world' known" and the social reactions resultant therefrom. Religious education is the production of those social responses which will assist the individual in the process of personal-social self-realization, or the attainment of the highest personal efficiency through the media of the social group.

In Part II the individual was defined as a socially reacting person who is stimulated by his environment, and it was noted that the response was conditioned both by the individual and by the stimulus. Hence there followed a study of early adolescence, its stimulus and environment.

Part III treated of the specialized stimulus of religious education. In numerous cases this material was found to be contrary both to the nature and development of the individual and to the objectives of religion. This necessitated a proposed reconstruction of such material in terms of adolescent needs and of social living which would correspond to the social ideal of religious reactions. Thus would the religious educative process best assist the individual youth in attaining personal-social self-realization.

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